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THE CHARACTER OF A TRIMMER.

HIS

OPINION

OF

I. The Laws and Government.
II. Protestant Religion.
III. The Papists.
IV. Foreign Affairs.

By the Honourable Sir *W. C.*

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BRITISH MUSEUM

The PREFACE.

IT must be more than an ordinary provocation that can tempt a Man to Write in an Age over-run with Scriblers, as Egypt *was with Flyes and Locusts: That worst Vermin of small Authours hath given the World such a Surfeit, that instead of desiring to Write, a Man would be more inclin'd to wish, for his own ease, that he could not Read; but there are some things which do so raise our Passions, that our Reason can make no Resistance; and when Madmen, in the two Extreams, shall agree to make common sense Treason, and joyn to fix an ill Character upon the only Men in the Nation who deserve a good one; I am no longer Master of my better Resolution to let the World alone, and must break loose from my more reasonable Thoughts, to expose these false Coyners, who would make their Copper Wares pass upon us for good Payment.*

Amongst all the Engines of Dissention, there hath been none more powerful in all Times, than the fixing Names upon one another of Contumely and Reproach, and the reason is plain, in respect of the People, who are generally uncapable of making a Syllogism or forming an Argument, yet they can pronounce a word; and that serves their turn to throw it with their due malice at the head of those they do not like; such things ever begin in Jest, and end in Blood, and the same word that maketh the Company merry, grows in time to a Military Signal to cut one anothers Throats.

These Mistakes are to be lamented, tho' not easily cured, being suitable enough to the corrupted Nature of Mankind; but 'tis hard that Men will not only invent ill Names, but they will wrest and misinterpret good ones, so afraid some are even of a reconciling sound, that they raise another noise to keep it from being heard, lest it should set up and encourage a dangerous sort of Men, who prefer Peace and Agreement, before Violence and Confusion.

Were it not for this, why, after we have play'd the Fool with throwing Whig *and* Tory *at one another, as Boys do Snow Balls, do we grow angry at a new Name, which by its true signification might do as much to put us into our Wits, as the other hath done to put us out of them?*

This innocent word Trimmer *signifies no more than this, That if Men are together in a Boat, and one part of the Company would weigh it down on one side, another would make it lean as much to the contrary, it happens there is a third Opinion of those who conceive it would do as well, if the Boat went even, without endangering the Passengers; now 'tis hard to imagine by what Figure in Language, or by what Rule in Sense this cometh to be a fault, and it is much more a wonder it should become a Heresy.*

But so it happens, that the poor Trimmer *hath all the Powder spent upon him alone, while the* Whig *is forgotten, or at least a neglected Enemy; there is no danger now to the State (if some Men be believ'd) but from the Beast called a* Trimmer, *take heed of him, he is the Instrument that must destroy Church and State; a strong kind of Monster, whose deformity is so expos'd, that, were it a true Picture that is made of him, it would be enough to fright Children, and make Women miscarry at the sight of it.*

But it may be worth the examining, whether he is such a Beast as he is Painted. I am not of that Opinion, and am so far from thinking him an Infidel either in Church or State, that I am neither afraid to expose the Articles of his Faith in Relation to Government, nor to say I prefer them before any other Political Creed, that either our angry Doms, or our refined States-men would impose upon us.

I have therefore in the following Discourse endeavour'd to explain the Trimmer's *Principles and Opinions, and then leave it to all Discerning and Impartial Judges, whether he can with Justice be so Arraign'd, and whether those who deliberately pervert a good Name, do not very justly deserve the worst that can be put upon themselves.*

BRITISH MUSEUM

THE

THE Trimmer's Opinion OF THE LAWS and GOVERNMENT.

OUR Trimmer hath a great Veneration for Laws in general, as he hath more particularly for his own, he looketh upon them as the Chains that tye up our unruly Paſſions, which elſe, like Wild Beaſts let looſe, would reduce the World into its firſt State of Barbariſm and Hoſtility; all the good things we enjoy, we owe to them; and all the ill things we are freed from by their Protection.

God himſelf thought it not enough to be a Creator, without being a Law-giver, and his goodneſs had been defective towards Mankind in making them, if he had not preſcrib'd Rules to make them happy.

All Laws flow from that of Nature, and where that is not the Foundation, they may be legally impos'd, but they will be lamely obey'd: By this Nature is not meant that which Fools and Madmen would miſquote to juſtify their Exceſſes; it is innocent and uncorrupted Nature, that which diſpoſeth Men to chuſe Vertue, without its being preſcrib'd, and which is ſo far from inſpiring ill thoughts into us, that we take pains to ſuppreſs the good ones it infuſeth.

The Civil World has ever paid a willing ſubjection to Laws, even Conquerours have done homage to them; as the *Romans* who took Patterns of good Laws, even from thoſe they had ſubdued; and at the ſame time they Triumph'd over an enſlav'd People, the ſame Laws of that Place did not only remain ſafe, but became Victorious; their new Maſters, inſtead of ſuppreſſing them, paid them more reſpect than they had from thoſe who firſt made them: and by this wiſe method they arriv'd to ſuch

ſuch an admirable Conſtitution of Laws, that to this day they Reign by them; the Excellency of them Triumpheth ſtill, and the World payeth now an acknowledgment of their obedience to that Mighty Empire, tho' ſo many Ages after it is diſſolved; and by a better inſtance, the Kings of *France*, who, in practice uſe their Laws pretty familiarly, yet think their Picture is drawn with moſt advantage upon their Seals, when they are plac'd upon the Seat of Juſtice; and tho' the Hieroglyphick is not there of ſo much uſe to the People as they would wiſh, yet it ſhews that no Prince is ſo Great, as to think it, for his own Credit at leaſt, to give an outward, when he refuſeth a real worſhip to the Laws.

They are to Mankind that which the Sun is to the Plants, as it cheriſheth and preſerveth them, ſo where they have their force, and are not clouded, every thing ſmileth and flouriſheth, but where they are darkned, and are not ſuffered to ſhine out, it maketh every thing to wither and decay.

They ſerve Men not only againſt one another, but againſt themſelves too; they are a Sanctuary to which the Crown hath occaſion to reſort as often as the People, ſo that it hath an Intereſt as well as a Duty to preſerve them.

There would be no end of making a Panegyrick of Laws; let it be enough to add, that without Laws the World would become a Wilderneſs, and Men little leſs than Beaſts; but with all this, the beſt things may come to be the worſt, if they are not in good hands; and if it be true that the wiſeſt Men generally make the Laws, it is as true, that the ſtrongeſt do often miſinterpret them: and as Rivers belong as much to the Chanel where they run, as to the Spring from whence they firſt riſe; ſo the Laws depend as much upon the Pipes, thro' which they are to paſs, as upon the Fountain from whence they flow.

The Authority of a King who is Head of the Law, as well as the Dignity of Publick Juſtice, is debaſed, when the clear ſtream of the Law is puddled and diſturb'd by Bunglers, or convey'd by unclean Inſtruments to the People.

Our *Trimmer* would have them appear in their full luſtre, and would be grieved to ſee the day, when inſtead of ſpeaking with Authority from the Seats of Juſtice, they ſhould ſpeak out of a Grate, with a lamenting voice, like Priſoners that deſire to be reſcu'd.

He wiſheth that the Bench may have a Natural as well as a Legal Superiority to the Bar; he thinketh Mens abilities much miſplac'd, when the Reaſons of thoſe that Plead is visibly too ſtrong for thoſe who Judge and give Sentence.

When thoſe from the Bar ſeem to dictate to their Superiours upon the

the Bench, their Furrs will look ſcurvily about them, and the reſpect of the World will leave the bare Character of a Judge, to follow the Eſſential knowledge of a Lawyer, who may be greater in himſelf, than others can be with all their Trappings.

An uncontеſted Superiority in any Calling, will have the better of any diſtinct Name that Authority can put upon it, and therefore if ever ſuch an unnatural Method ſhould be produc'd, it is then that *Weſtminſter-Hall* might be ſaid to ſtand upon its Head, and though Juſtice it ſelf can never be ſo, yet the Adminiſtration of it would be rendered Ridiculous.

A Judge hath ſuch a Power lodg'd in him, that the King will never be thought to have choſen well, where the Voice of Mankind hath not before-hand recommended the Man to his Election; when Men are made Judges of what they do not underſtand, the World cenſures ſuch a Choice, not out of ill-will to the Men, but fear to themſelves.

If the King had ſole Power of chuſing Phyſicians, Men would tremble to ſee Bunglers preferred, yet the neceſſity of taking Phyſick from a Doctor, is generally not ſo great as that of receiving Juſtice from a Judge; the Inferences will be very ſevere in ſuch caſes, for either it will be thought that ſuch Men bought what they were not able to deſerve, or which is as bad, that Obedience ſhall be look'd upon as a better Qualification in a Judge, than Skill or Integrity, when ſuch ſacred things as the Laws are not only touch'd, but guided by prophane hands; Men will fear that out of the Tree of the Law, from whence we expect Shade and Shelter, ſuch Workmen will make us Cudgels to beat us with, or rather that they will turn the Canon upon our Properties, that were intruſted with them for their Defence.

To ſee the Laws Mangled, Diſguiſed, Speak quite another Language than their own, to ſee them thrown from the Dignity of protecting Mankind, to the diſgraceful Office of deſtroying them; and, notwithſtanding their Innocence in themſelves, to be made the worſt Inſtruments that the moſt refined Villany can make uſe of, will raiſe Mens Anger above the power of laying it down again, and tempts them to follow the Evil Examples given them of Judging without Hearing, when ſo provoked by their deſire of Revenge. Our *Trimmer* therefore as he thinketh the Laws are Jewels, ſo he believeth they are no better ſet, than in the Conſtitution of our *Engliſh* Government, if rightly underſtood, and carefully preſerved.

It would be too great Partiality to ſay it is perfect or liable to no Objection; ſuch things are not of the World; but if it hath more Excellencies and fewer Faults than any other we know, it is enough to recommend it to our Eſteem.

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The Diſpute, which is a greater Beauty, a Monarchy or a Common-wealth, hath laſted long between their contending Lovers, and (they have behav'd themſelves ſo like, who in good Manners muſt be out of their Wits,) who uſed ſuch Figures to exalt their own Idols on either ſide, and ſuch angry Aggravations, to reproach one another in the Conteſt, that moderate Men have at all times ſmil'd upon this eagerneſs, and thought it differ'd very little from a downright Frenzy: we in *England*, by a happy uſe of the Controverſie, conclude them both in the wrong, and reject them from being our Pattern, taking the words in the utmoſt extent, which is a thing that Monarchy leaveth them no Liberty, and a Common-Wealth ſuch a one, as allows them no Quiet.

We think that a wiſe Mean, between theſe two barbarous Extreams, is that which ſelf-Preſervation ought to dictate to our Wiſhes; and we may ſay we have attained this Mean in a greater meaſure, than any Nation now in being, or perhaps any we have read of; tho' never ſo much Celebrated for the wiſdom or plenty of their Conſtitutions; we take from one the too great power of doing hurt, and yet leave enough to govern and protect us; we take from the other, the Confuſion, the Parity, the Animoſities, and the Licenſe, and yet reſerve a due care of ſuch Liberty, as may conſiſt with Mens Allegiance; but it being hard, if not impoſſible, to be exactly even, our Government has much the ſtronger Biaſs towards Monarchy, which by the more general Conſent and practice of Mankind, ſeemeth to have the Advantage in diſpute againſt a Commonwealth: The Rules of a Commonwealth are too hard for the Bulk of Mankind to come up to, that Form of Government requireth ſuch a ſpirit to carry it on, as doth not dwell in great Numbers, but is reſtrain'd to ſo very few, eſpecially in this Age, that let the Methods appear never ſo much reaſonable in Paper, they muſt fail in Practice, which will ever be ſuited more to Mens Nature, as it is, than as it ſhould be.

Monarchy is lik'd by the People, for the Bells and the Tinſel, the outward Pomp and the Gilding, and there muſt be milk for Babes, ſince the greateſt part of Mankind are, and ever will be included in that Liſt; and it is approv'd by wiſe and thinking Men, (Circumſtances and Objections impartially conſider'd) that it hath ſo great an advantage above all other Forms, when the Adminiſtration of that Power falleth in good hands, that all other Governments look out of Countenance, when they are ſet in Competition with it. *Lycurgus* might have ſav'd himſelf the trouble of making Laws, if either he had been Immortal, or that he could have ſecur'd to Poſterity, a ſucceeding Care of Princes like himſelf; his own Example was a better Law, than he could with all

all his skill tell how to make; ſuch a Prince is a Living Law, that dictates to his Subjects, whoſe thoughts in that caſe never riſe above their Obedience, the Confidence they have in the Vertue and Knowledge of the Maſter, preventing the Scruples and Apprehenſions to which Men are naturally inclin'd, in relation to thoſe that govern them; ſuch a Magiſtrate is the Life and Soul of Juſtice, whereas the Law is but a Body, and a dead one too, without his influence to give it warmth and vigour, and by the irreſiſtible Power of his Vertue, he doth ſo reconcile Dominion and Allegiance, that all diſputes between them are ſilenced and ſubdued, and indeed no Monarchy can be Perfect and Abſolute without exception, but when the Prince is Superiour by his Vertue, as well as by his Character and his Power, ſo that to ſerve out Preſidents of unlimited Power, is a plain diminution to a Prince that Nature hath made Great, and who had better make himſelf a glorious Example to Poſterity, than borrow an Authority from Dark Records, raiſed out of the Grave, which beſides their Non-uſage have always in them matter of Controverſie and Debate, and it may be affirm'd, that the Inſtances are very rare of Princes having the worſt in diſpute with their People; if they were Eminent for Juſtice in time of Peace, and Conduct in time of War, ſuch advantage the Crown giveth to thoſe who adorn and confirm it by their own Perſonal Vertues.

But ſince for the greater Honour of Good and Wiſe Princes, and the better to ſet off their Character by the Compariſon, Heaven hath decreed there muſt be a mixture, and that ſuch as are perverſe and inſufficient, or both, are perhaps to have their equal turns in the Government of the World, and beſides that the Will of a Man is ſo various, and ſo unbounded a thing, and ſo fatal too when joined with power unſupply'd; it is no wonder if thoſe who are to be govern'd, are unwilling to have ſo dangerous as well as ſo uncertain a Standard of their Obedience.

There muſt be therefore Rules and Laws, for want of which, or at leaſt the Obſervation of them, it was as Capital for a Man to ſay that *Nero* did not play well upon the Lute, as to commit Treaſon, or Blaſpheme the Gods. And even *Veſpaſian* himſelf had like to have loſt himſelf, for ſleeping whilſt he ſhould have attended and admir'd that Emperours Impertinence upon the Stage; There is a wantonneſs in the too great Power that Men are generally too apt to be corrupted with, and for that Reaſon, a wiſe Prince, to prevent the temptation ariſing from common frailty, would chooſe to Govern by Rules for his own Sake, as well as for the Peoples, ſince it only ſecureth him from Errors, and doth not leſſen the real Authority that a good Magiſtrate would come to be poſſeſs'd of; for if the Will of a Prince is contrary either to Reaſon it

ſelf, or to the univerſal Opinion of his Subjects, the Law by a kind reſtraint reſcues him from a diſeaſe that would undo him; if his will on the other ſide is reaſonable and well directed, that will immediately becomes a Law, and he is arbitrary by an eaſie and natural Conſequence, without taking pains, or overturning the World for it.

If Princes conſider Laws as things impos'd on them, they have the appearance of Fetters of Iron, but to ſuch as would make them their choice as well as their practice, they are Chains of Gold; and in that reſpect are Ornaments, as in others they are a defence to them, and by a Compariſon, not improper for God's Vicegerents upon Earth; as our Maker never commandeth our obedience to any thing, that as unreaſonable Creatures we ought not to make our own Election; ſo a good and wiſe Governour, tho' all Laws were aboliſh'd, would by the voluntary direction of his own Reaſon, do without reſtraint the very ſame things that they would have enjoyned.

Our *Trimmer* thinketh that the King and Kingdom ought to be one Creature, not to be ſeparated in their Political Capacity; and when any of them undertake to act a-part, it is like the crawling of Worms after they are cut in pieces, which cannot be a laſting Nation, the whole Creature not ſtirring at a time; if the Body have a dead Palſie, the Head cannot make it move; and God hath not yet delegated ſuch a healing power to Princes, as that they can in a moment ſay to a Languiſhing People oppreſs'd in deſpair, take up your beds and walk.

The Figure of a King, is ſo comprehenſive and exalted a thing, that it is a kind of degrading of him to lodge that power ſeparately in his own Natural Perſon, which can never be truly or naturally great, but where the People are ſo united to him as to be Fleſh of his Fleſh, and Bone of his Bone; for when he is reduc'd to the ſingle definition of a man, he ſinketh into ſo low a Character, that he is a temptation under Mens Allegiance, and an impairing that veneration which is neceſſary to preſerve their duty to him; whereas a Prince that is ſo joyned to his People that they ſeem to be his Limbs, rather than his Subjects, Cloathed with Mercy and Juſtice rightly apply'd in their ſeveral places, his Throne ſupported by Love as well as by Power, and the warm wiſhes of his devoted Subjects, like never-failing Incenſe ſtill aſcending towards him, looks ſo like the beſt Image we can frame to our ſelves of God Almighty, that Men would have much ado not to fall down and worſhip him, and would be much more tempted to the Sin of Idolatry, than that of Diſobedience.

Our *Trimmer* is of Opinion, that there muſt be ſo much Dignity inſeparably annex'd to the Royal Function, as may be ſufficient to ſecure it from violence and contempt; and there muſt be Condeſcenſions from the Throne,

Throne, like kind ſhowers from Heaven, that the Prince may look ſo much the more like God Almighty's Deputy upon Earth; for power without love hath a terrifying aſpect, and the Worſhip which is paid to it is like that which the *Indians* give out of fear to Wild Beaſts and Devils: he that feareth God only becauſe there is an Hell, muſt wiſh there were no God; and he who feareth the King, only becauſe he can puniſh, muſt wiſh there were no King; So that without a Principle of Love, there can be no true Allegiance, and there muſt remain perpetual Seeds of Reſiſtance againſt a Power that is built upon ſuch an unnatural Foundation, as that of fear and terrour. All force is a kind of foul play, and whoſoever aimeth at it himſelf, doth by implication allow it to thoſe he plays with; ſo that there will be ever Matter prepared in the minds of People when they are provok'd, and the Prince, to ſecure himſelf, muſt live in the midſt of his own Subjects, as if he were in a Conquer'd Country, raiſe Arms as if he were immediately to meet or reſiſt an Invaſion, and all this while ſleep as unquietly from the fear of Remedies, as he did before from that of the Diſeaſe; it being hard for him to forget, that more Princes have been deſtroy'd by their Guards than by their People; and that even at the time when the Rule was *Quod Principi placuit Lex eſto:* The Armies and Prætorian Bands which were the Inſtruments of that unruly Power, were frequently the means made uſe of to deſtroy them who had it. There will ever be this difference between God and his Vicegerents, that God is ſtill above the Inſtruments he uſeth, and out of the danger of receiving hurt from them; but Princes can never lodge Power in any hands, which may not at ſome time turn it back upon them; for tho' it is poſſible enough for a King to have Power enough to ſatisfy his Ambition; yet no Kingdom hath Money enough to ſatisfie the avarice of under-Workmen, who learn from that Prince who will exact more than belongeth to him, to expect from him much more than they deſerve; and growing angry upon the firſt diſappointment, they are the Devils which grow terrible to the Conjurers themſelves who brought them up, and can't ſend them down again; And beſides that, there can be no laſting Radical Security, but where the governed are ſatisfied with the Governours; it muſt be a Dominion very unpleaſant to a Prince of an elevated Mind, to impoſe an abject and ſordid ſervility, inſtead of receiving the willing Sacrifice of Duty and Obedience. The braveſt Princes in all times, who were uncapable of any other kind of fear, have fear'd to grieve their own People; ſuch a fear is a glory, and in this ſenſe 'tis an infamy not to be a Coward: So that the miſtaken Heroes who are void of this generous kind of fear, need no other aggravation to compleat their ill Characters.

When a Deſpotick Prince hath bruiſed all his Subjects with a ſlaviſh

Obedience, all the force he can uſe cannot ſubdue his own fears, Enemies of his own creation, to which he can never be reconciled, it being impoſſible to do injuſtice, and not to fear Revenge: there is no cure for this fear, but the not deſerving to be hurt, and therefore a Prince who doth not allow his thoughts to ſtray beyond the Rules of Juſtice, has always the bleſſing of an inward quiet and aſſurance, as a natural effect of his good meaning to his People, and tho' he will not neglect due precautions to ſecure himſelf in all Events, yet he is uncapable of entertaining vain and remote ſuſpicions of thoſe of whom he reſolves never to deſerve ill.

It is very hard for a Prince to fear a Rebellion, who neither doth, nor intendeth to do any thing to provoke it; therefore ſo great a diligence in the Governours, to raiſe and improve dangers and fears from the People, is no very good Symptom, and naturally begets an influence, that they have thoughts of putting their Subjects Allegiance to a Tryal; and therefore not without ſome Reaſon fear before hand, that the Irregularities they intend, may raiſe Men to a Reſiſtance.

Our *Trimmer* thinketh it no advantage to a Government, to endeavour the ſuppreſſing all kind of Right which may remain in the Body of the People, or to employ ſmall Authors in it, whoſe Officiouſneſs or want of Mony may encourage them to Write, tho' it is not very eaſie to have Abilities equal to ſuch a Subject; they forget that in their too high ſtrain'd Arguments for the Rights of Princes, they very often plead againſt known Nature, which will always give a Biaſs to thoſe Reaſons which ſeem of her ſide; it is the People that Readeth thoſe Books, and its the People muſt judge of them, and therefore no Maxims ſhould be laid down for the Right of Government, to which there can be any Reaſonable Objection; for the World hath an Intereſt, and for that Reaſon is more than ordinary diſcerning, to find out the weak ſides of ſuch Arguments as are intended to do them hurt; and it is a diminution to a Government, to Promote or Countenance ſuch well affected miſtakes, which are turned upon it with diſadvantage, whenever they are detected or expos'd; and Naturally the too earneſt Endeavours to take from Men the Right they have, tempt them, by the Example, to Claim that which they have not.

And in Power, as in all other things, the way for Princes to keep it is, not to graſp more than their Arms can well hold; nice and unneceſſary enquiring into theſe things, or the Licenſing ſome Books, and forbidding others, without ſufficient Reaſon to juſtifie the doing either, is ſo far from being an Advantage to a Government, that it expoſeth it to the Cenſure of being Partial, and to the ſuſpicion, of having ſome ſuddain Deſigns to be carried on by theſe unuſual methods.

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When all is ſaid, there is a Natural Reaſon of State, an undefinable thing, grounded upon the Common Good of Mankind, which is Immortal, and in all Changes and Revolutions, ſtill preſerveth its Original Right of ſaving a Nation, when a Letter of the Law perhaps would deſtroy it; and by whatſoever means it moveth, carrieth a Power with it, that admitteth of no oppoſition, being ſupported by Nature, which inſpireth an immediate conſent at ſome Critical times into every individual Member, to that which viſibly tendeth to the preſervation of the whole; and this being ſo, a Wiſe Prince inſtead of controverting the right of this Reaſon of State, will by all means endeavour it may be of his ſide, and then he will be ſecure.

Our *Trimmer* cannot conceive that the Power of any Prince can be laſting, but where 'tis built upon the foundation of his own unborrow'd vertue, he muſt not only be the firſt Mover and the Fountain, from whence the great Acts of State originally flow, but he muſt be thought ſo by his People, that they may preſerve their veneration to him; he muſt be jealous of his Power, and not impart ſo much of it to any about him, as that he may ſuffer an Eclipſe by it.

He cannot take too much care to keep himſelf up, for when a Prince is thought to be led by thoſe, with whom he ſhould onely adviſe, and that the Commands he giveth are tranſmitted through him, and are not of his own growth; the World will look upon him as a Bird adorn'd with Feathers that are not his own, or conſider him rather as an Engine than a living Creature; beſides, 'twould be a Contradiction for a Prince to fear a Common-wealth, and at the ſame time create one himſelf, by delegating ſuch a Power to any Number of Men near him, as is inconſiſtant with the true Figure of a Monarch; it is the worſt kind of Co-ordination the Crown can ſubmit too; for it is the exerciſe of Power that draweth the reſpect along with it, and when that is parted with, the bare Character of a King is not ſufficient to keep it up; but tho' it is a diminution to a Prince, to parcel out ſo liberally his Power amongſt his Favourites, it's yet worſe to divide with any other Man, and to bring himſelf in Competition with a ſingle Rival; a Partner in Government is ſo unnatural a thing, that it is a ſquint-ey'd Allegiance that muſt be paid to ſuch a double bottom'd Monarchy. The *Cæſars* are an Example that the more civiliz'd part of the World will not be proud to follow, and whatſoever Gloſs may be put upon this Method, by thoſe to whom it may be of ſome uſe, the Prince will do well to remember, and reflect upon the Story of certain Men who had ſet up a Statue in Honour to the Sun, yet in a very little time they turned their backs to the Sun, and their Faces to the Statue.

Theſe Myſtical Unions are better plac'd in the other World, than they

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are in this, and we ſhall have much ado to find, that in a Monarchy Gods Vicegerency is delegated to more Heads than that which is anointed.

Princes may lend ſome of their Light to make another ſhine, but they muſt ſtill preſerve the ſuperiority of being the brighter Planet; and when it happens the Reverſion is in Mens Eyes, there is more care to keep up the Dignity of Poſſeſſions, that Men may not forget who is King, either out of their hopes or fears who ſhall be. If the Sun ſhall part with all his Light, the *Indians* would not know where to find their God, after he had ſo depoſed himſelf, and would make the Light (wherever it went) the Object of their Worſhip.

All Uſurpation is alike upon Soveraignty, its no matter from what hand it cometh; and Crowned Heads are to be the more Circumſpect, in reſpect Mens thoughts are naturally apt to ramble beyond what is preſent, they love to work at a diſtance, and in their greedy Expectations; their minds may be fill'd with a new Maſter, the old one may be left to look a little out of Countenance.

Our *Trimmer* owneth a Paſſion for liberty, yet ſo reſtrain'd, that it doth not in the leaſt impair or taint his Allegiance, he thinketh it hard for a Soul that doth not love Liberty, ever to raiſe it ſelf to another World, he taketh it to be the foundation of all vertue, and the only ſeaſoning that giveth a reliſh to life, and tho' the lazineſs of a ſlaviſh ſubjection, hath its Charms for the more groſs and earthly part of Mankind, yet to men made of a better ſort of Clay, all that the World can give without Liberty hath no taſte; it's true, nothing is ſold ſo cheap by unthinking men, but that doth no more leſſen the real value of it, than a Country Fellow's Ignorance doth that of a Diamond, in ſelling it for a Pot of Ale; Liberty is the Miſtreſs of Mankind, ſhe hath powerful Charms that do ſo dazzle, that we find Beauties in her which perhaps are not there, as we do in other Miſtreſſes; yet if ſhe was not a Beauty, the World would not run mad for her; therefore ſince the reaſonable deſire of it ought not to be reſtrain'd, and that even the unreaſonable deſire of it cannot be intirely ſuppreſs'd, thoſe who would take it away from a People poſſeſſed of it, are likely to fail in the attempting, or be very unquiet in the keeping of it.

Our *Trimmer* admireth our bleſſed Conſtitutions, in which Dominion and Liberty are reconcil'd; it giveth to the Prince the glorious Power of Commanding Free-men, and to the Subject, the ſatisfaction of ſeeing the Power ſo lodged, as that their Liberties are ſecure; it doth not allow the Crown ſuch a Ruining Power, as that no graſs may grow where e'er it treadeth, but a Cheriſhing and Protecting Power; ſuch a one as hath a grim Aſpect only to the offending Subjects, but is the Joy and the Pride of

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all the good ones; their own intereſt being ſo bound up in it, as to engage them to defend and ſupport it; and the King is in ſome Circumſtances reſtrain'd, ſo as nothing in the Government can move without him; our Laws make a true diſtinction between Vaſſalage and Obedience, between devouring Prerogatives, and a Licentious ungovernable Freedom: and as of all the Orders of Building, the Compoſite is the beſt, ſo ours by a happy mixture and a wiſe choice of what is beſt in others, is brought into a Form; that is our Felicity who live under it, and the envy of our Neighbours that cannot imitate it.

The Crown hath power ſufficient to protect our Liberties. The People have ſo much Liberty as is neceſſary to make them uſeful to the Crown.

Our Government is in a juſt Proportion, no Tympany, no natural ſwelling either of Power or Liberty; and whereas in all overgrown Monarchies, Reaſon, Learning and Enquiry are baniſhed in Effigy for Mutineers; here they are encourag'd and cheriſh'd as the ſureſt Friends to a Government eſtabliſh'd upon the Foundation of Law and Juſtice: When all is done, thoſe who look for Perfection in this World, may look as long as the *Jews* have for their *Meſſias*, and therefore our *Trimmer* is not ſo unreaſonably Partial as to free our Government; no doubt there have been fatal Inſtances of its Sickneſs, and more than that, of its Mortality, for ſometime, tho' by a Miracle, it hath been reviv'd again: but till we have another Mankind, in all Conſtitutions that are bounded, there will ever be ſome matter of Strife, and Contention, and rather than want pretenſions, Mens Paſſions and Intereſts will raiſe them from the moſt inconſiderable Cauſes.

Our Government is like our Climate, there are Winds which are ſometimes loud and unquiet, and yet with all the Trouble they give us, we owe great part of our Health unto them, they clear the Air, which elſe would be like a ſtanding Pool, and inſtead of Refreſhment would be a Diſeaſe unto us.

There may be freſh Gales of aſſerting Liberty, without turning into ſuch ſtorms of Hurricane, as that the State ſhould run any hazard of being Caſt away by them; theſe ſtruglings which are natural to all mixed Governments, while they are kept from growing into Convulſions, do by a natural agitation from the ſeveral parts, rather ſupport and ſtrengthen, than weaken or mame the Conſtitution; and the whole frame, inſtead of being torn or disjointed, cometh to be the better and cloſer knit by being thus exerciſed; but what ever faults our Government may have, or a diſcerning Critick may find in it, when he looketh upon it alone; let any one be ſet againſt it, and then it ſhews its Comparative Beauty; let us look upon the glittering outſide of unbounded Authority, and upon a nearer

nearer enquiry, we ſhall find nothing but poor and miſerable deformity within; let us imagine a Prince living in this Kingdom, as if he were a great Gally, his Subjects tugging at the Oar, laden with Chains, and reduc'd to real Rags; to give him imaginary Lawrels, let us preſent him gazing among his Flatterers, like a Child never contradicted, and therefore always Cozen'd, or like a Lady complemented only to be abus'd, condemn'd never to hear Truth, and conſequently never to do Juſtice, wallowing in the ſoft Bed of wanton and unbridled Greatneſs, not leſs odious to the Inſtruments themſelves, than to the Objects of his Tyranny, blown up to an Ambitious Dropſy, never to be ſatisfied by the Conqueſt of other People, or by the Oppreſſion of his own; by aiming to be more than a Man, he becomes a Beaſt, a miſtaken Creature, ſwell'd with Panegyricks, and flatter'd out of his Senſes, and not onely an Incumbrance, but a common Nuiſance to Mankind, a harden'd and unrelenting Soul, and like ſome Creatures that grow fat with Poiſons, he grows great by other Mens Miſeries; an Ambitious Ape of the Divine Greatneſs, an unruly Gyant that would ſtorm even Heaven it ſelf, but that his ſcaling Ladders are not long enough; in ſhort, a Wild Beaſt in rich Trappings, and with all his Pride no more than a Whip in God Almighty's hand, to be thrown into the Fire when the World has been ſufficiently ſcourged with it: This Picture laid in right Colours would not incite Men to wiſh for ſuch a Government, but rather to acknowledge the happineſs of our own, under which we enjoy all the Priviledges Reaſonable Men can deſire, and avoid all the Miſeries others are ſubject too; ſo that our *Trimmer* would keep it with all its faults, and doth as little forgive thoſe who give the occaſion of breaking it, as he doth thoſe that take it.

Our *Trimmer* is a Friend to Parliaments, notwithſtanding all their faults, and exceſſes, which of late have given ſuch matter of Objection to them, he thinks that tho' they may at ſometimes be troubleſome to Authority, yet they add the greateſt ſtrength to it under a wiſe Adminiſtration, to believe no Government is perfect, except Omnipotence recide in it, to be exercis'd upon great Occaſions: Now this cannot be obtain'd by force upon the People, let it be never ſo great, there muſt be their conſent too, or elſe a Nation moveth only by being driven, a ſluggiſh and reſtrained Motion, void of that Life and Vigour which is neceſſary to produce great things, whereas the virtual Conſent of the whole being included in their Repreſentatives, and the King giving the ſanction of the united ſenſe of the People, every Act done by ſuch an Authority, ſeemeth to be an effect of their choice as well as part of their Duty; and they do with an eagerneſs, of which Men are uncapable whilſt under a force, execute whatſoever is ſo enjoined as their own Wills, better explained by Parliament,

liament, rather than from the terrour of incurring the Penalty of the Law for omitting it, and by means of this Political Omnipotence, what ever Sap or Juice there is in a Nation, may be to the laſt drop produc'd, whilſt it riſes naturally from the Root; whereas all Power exercis'd without conſent, is the giving Wounds and Gaſhes, and tapping a Tree at unſeaſonable Times, for the preſent Occaſion, which in a very little time muſt needs deſtroy it.

Our *Trimmer* believes, that by the advantage of our Scituation, there can hardly any ſuch Diſeaſe come upon us, but that the King may have time enough to conſult with Phyſitians in Parliament; pretences indeed may be made, but a real neceſſity ſo preſſing, that no delay is to be admitted, is hardly to be imagined, and it will be neither eaſie to give an inſtance of any ſuch thing for the time paſt, or reaſonable to preſume it will ever happen for the time to come; but if that ſtrange thing ſhould fall out, our *Trimmer* is not ſo ſtrait-lac'd, as to let a Nation dye, or be ſtifled, rather than it ſhould be help'd by the proper Officers. The Caſes themſelves will bring a Remedy along with them; and he is not afraid to allow that in order to its Preſervation, there is a hidden Power in Government, which would be loſt if it was deſigned, a certain Myſtery, by which a Nation may at ſome Critical times be ſecur'd from Ruine, but then it muſt be kept as a Miſtery; it is rendred uſeleſs, when touch'd by unlucky hands; and no Government ever had or deſerv'd to have that Power, which was ſo unwary as to anticipate their claim to it: Our *Trimmer* cannot help thinking it had been better, if the Triennial Act had been obſerv'd; firſt, becauſe 'tis the Law, and he would not have the Crown, by ſuch an example, teach the Nation to break it; all irregularity is catching, it hath a Contagion in it, eſpecially in an Age, ſo much more enclin'd to follow ill Patterns than good ones.

He would have a Parliament, becauſe 'tis an Eſſential part of the Conſtitution, even without the Law, it being the only Proviſion in extraordinary Caſes, in which there would be otherwiſe no Remedy, and there can be no greater Soleciſme in Government, than a failure of Juſtice.

He would have one, becauſe nothing elſe can unite and heal us, all other Means are meer Shifts and Projects, Houſes of Cards, and blown down with the leaſt Breath, and cannot reſiſt the difficulties which are ever preſum'd in things of this kind; and he would have had one, becauſe it might have done the King good, and could not poſſibly have done him hurt, without his Conſent, which in that Caſe is not to be ſuppoſed, and therefore for him to fear it, is ſo ſtrange and ſo little to be comprehended, that the Reaſons can never be preſum'd to grow in our Soyl, or to thrive in it when Tranſplanted from any other Country; and no doubt there are

ſuch irreſiſtable Arguments for calling a Parliament, that tho' it may be deny'd to the unmannerly threatning Petitions of men that are malicious and diſaffected, it will be granted to the obſequious Murmurs of his Majeſties beſt Subjects, and there will be ſuch a Rhetorick in their ſilent Grief, that it will at laſt prevail againſt the Artifices of thoſe, who either out of Guilt or Intereſt are afraid to throw themſelves upon their Country, knowing how ſcurvily they have uſed it; that day of Judgment will come, tho' we know not the day nor the hour. And our *Trimmer* would live ſo as to be prepared for it, with full aſſurance in the mean time, that a lamenting Voice of a Nation cannot long be reſiſted, and that a Prince, who could ſo eaſily forgive his People when they had been in the wrong, cannot fail to hear them when they are in the right.

The *Trimmer*'s Opinion concerning Proteſtant Religion.

REligion hath ſuch a Superiority above other things, and that indiſpenſable Influence upon all Mankind, that it is as neceſſary to our Living Happy in this World, as it is to our being Sav'd in the next, without it Man is an abandon'd Creature, one of the worſt Beaſts Nature hath produc'd, and fit only for the Society of Wolves and Bears; therefore in all Ages it hath been the Foundation of Government, and tho' falſe Gods have been impos'd upon the Credulous part of the World, yet they were Gods ſtill in their Opinion, and the Awe and Reverence Men had to them and their Oracles, kept them within bounds towards one another, which the Laws with all their Authority could never have effected without the help of Religion; the Laws would not be able to ſubdue the perverſeneſs of Mens Wills, which are Wild Beaſts, and require a double Chain to keep them down; for this Reaſon 'tis ſaid, That it is not a ſufficient ground to make War upon a Neighbouring State, becauſe they are of another Religion, let it be never ſo differing; yet if they Worſhip'd nor Acknowledg'd no Deity, they may be Invaded as Publick Enemies of Mankind, becauſe they reject the only thing that can bind them to live well with one another; the conſideration of Religion is ſo Intereſſed with that of Government, that it is never to be ſeparated, and the Foundations of it are to be ſuited to the ſeveral Climates and Conſtitutions, ſo that they may keep men in a willing Acquieſcence unto them, without diſcompoſing

diſcompoſing the World by nice diſputes, which can never be of equal moment with the publick Peace.

Our Religion here in *England* ſeems to be diſtinguiſh'd by a peculiar effect of God Almighty's goodneſs, in permitting it to be introduc'd, or more properly reſtor'd, by a more regular Method than the Circumſtances of more other Reformed Churches would allow them to do, in relation to the Government; and the Dignity with which it hath ſupported it ſelf ſince, and the great Men our Church hath produc'd, ought to recommend it to the eſteem of all Proteſtants at leaſt: Our *Trimmer* is very partial to it, for theſe Reaſons, and many more, and deſiring that it may preſerve its due Juriſdiction and Authority, ſo far he is from wiſhing it oppreſſed by the unreaſonable and malicious Cavils of thoſe who take pains to raiſe Objections againſt it.

The Queſtion will then be, how and by what Methods the Church ſhall beſt ſupport it ſelf (the preſent Circumſtances conſider'd) in relation to Diſſenters of all ſorts: I will firſt lay it for a ground, That as there can be no true Religion without Charity, ſo there can be no true humane Prudence without bearing and condeſcenſion: This Principle doth not extend to oblige the Church always to yield to thoſe who are diſpoſed to moleſt it, the expediency of doing it is to be conſidered and determined according to the occaſion, and this leadeth me to lay open the thoughts of our *Trimmer*, in reference, firſt, to the Proteſtants, and then to the Popiſh Recuſants.

What hath lately hapned among us, makes an Apology neceſſary for ſaying any thing that looketh like favour towards a ſort of Men who have brought themſelves under ſuch a diſadvantage.

The late Conſpiracy hath ſuch broad Symptoms of the diſaffection of the whole Party, that upon the firſt reflections, while our thoughts are warm, it would almoſt perſwade us to put them out of the protection of our good Nature, and to think that the Chriſtian Indulgence which our compaſſion for other Mens Sufferings cannot eaſily deny, ſeemeth not only to be forfeited by the ill appearances that are againſt them, but even becometh a Crime when it is ſo miſapply'd; yet for all this, upon ſecond and cooler thoughts, moderate Men will not be ſo ready to involve a whole Party in the guilt of a few, and to admit Inferences and Preſumptions to be Evidence in a Caſe, where the Sentence muſt be ſo heavy, as it ought not to be againſt all thoſe who have a fixed reſolution againſt the Government eſtabliſhed; beſides, Men who act by a Principle grounded upon Moral Vertue, can never let it be clearly extinguiſh'd by the moſt repeated Provocations; if a right thing agreeable to Nature and good Sence taketh root in the heart of a Man, that is impartial and unbyaſs'd, no

outward Circumſtances can ever deſtroy it; it's true, the degrees of a Mans Zeal for the proſecution of it may be differing, the faults of other Men, the conſideration of the Publick, and the ſeaſonable Prudence by which Wiſe Men will ever be directed, may give great delays, they may leſſen and for a time perhaps ſuppreſs the exerciſe of that, which in a general Proſecution may be reaſonable, but whether be, ſo will inevitably grow and ſpring up again, having a Foundation in Nature, which is never to be deſtroy'd.

Our *Trimmer* therefore endeavoureth to ſeparate the deteſtation of thoſe who had either a hand or a thought in the late Plot, from the Principle of Prudential as well as Chriſtian Charity towards Mankind, and for that reaſon, would fain uſe the means of retaining ſuch of the Diſſenters as are not injurable, and even to bearing to a degree thoſe that are, as far as may conſiſt with the Publick Intereſt and Security; he is far from juſtifying an affected ſeparation from the Communion of the Church, and even in thoſe that mean well, and are miſtaken; he looketh upon it as a Diſeaſe that hath ſeized upon their Minds, very troubleſome as well as dangerous, by the Conſequence it may produce: he doth not go about to excuſe their making it an indiſpenſable duty, to meet in numbers to ſay their Prayers, ſuch Meetings may prove miſchievous to the State at leaſt; the Laws which are the beſt Judges, have determin'd that there is danger in them: he hath good nature enough to lament that the perverſneſs of a Part ſhould have drawn Rigorous Laws upon the Body of the Diſſenters, but when they are once made, no private Opinion muſt ſtand in Oppoſition to them; if they are in themſelves reaſonable, they are in that reſpect to be regarded, even without being enjoyned, if by the Change of Laws and Circumſtances they ſhould become leſs reaſonable than when they were firſt made, even then they are to be obey'd too, becauſe they are Laws, 'till they are mended or repealed by the ſame Authority that Enacted them.

He hath too much deference to the Conſtitution of our Government, to wiſh any more Prerogative Declarations in favour of ſcrupulous Men, or to diſpence with Penal Laws in ſuch manner, and to ſuch an end, that ſuſpecting Men might with ſome reaſon pretend, that ſo hated a thing as Perſecution could never make way for it ſelf with any hopes of Succeſs, otherwiſe than by preparing the deluded World by a falſe proſpect of Liberty and Indulgence; the inward Springs and Wheels whereby the Engine mov'd, are now ſo fully laid open and expos'd, that it is not ſuppoſable that ſuch a baffled Experiment ſhould ever be tryed again, the effect it had at the time, and the Spirit it raiſed, will not eaſily be forgotten, and it may be preſum'd the remembrance of it may ſecure

cure us from any more attempts of that nature for the future; we must no more break a Law to give Men ease, than we are to Rob an House with a devout intention of giving Plunder to the Poor; in this case, our Compassion would be as ill directed as our Charity in the other.

In that the veneration due to the Laws is never to be thrown off, let the Pretences be never so specious; yet with all this he cannot bring himself to think, that an extraordinary diligence to take the uttermost penalty of the Laws upon the Poor offending Neighbour, is of it self such an all-sufficient vertue, that without something else to recommend Men, it should Entitle them to all kind of Preferments and Rewards; he would not detract from the merits of those who execute the Laws, yet he cannot think such a piece of service can entirely change the Man, or either make him a better Divine, or a more knowing Magistrate than he was before, especially if it be done with a partial and unequal hand, in Reference to greater and more dangerous Offenders.

Our *Trimmer* would have those mistaken Men ready to throw themselves into the arms of the Church, and he would have those arms as ready to receive them; he would have no supercilious look to fright those strayed Sheep from coming into the Fold again; no ill-natur'd maxims of an Eternal suspicion, or a belief that those who have once been in the wrong can never be in the right again; but a visible preparation of mind to receive with joy all the Proselites that come amongst us, and much greater earnestness to reclaim than punish them: It is to be confess'd, there is a great deal to forgive, a hard task enough for a Church so provoked; but that must not cut off all hopes of being reconciled, yet if there must be some anger left still, let it break out into a Christian Revenge, and by being kinder to the Children of Disobedience than they deserve, let the injur'd Church Triumph, by throwing shame and confusion of face upon them; there should not always be Storms and Thunder, a clear Sky would sometime make the Church more like Heaven, and would be more towards the reclaiming those wanderers, than a perpetual terrour, which seemeth to have no intermission, for there is in many, and particularly in *English Men*, a mistaken pleasure, in resisting the dictates of Rigorous Authority; a Stomach that riseth against a hard imposition, nay, in some, raise even a lust in suffering from a wrong point of Honour, which doth not want her greater applause, from the greater part of Mankind, who have not learnt to distinguish; constancy will be thought a vertue even where it is a mistake; and the ill Judging World will be apt to think that Opinion in thought which produceth the greatest number of those who are willing to suffer for it; all this is prevented, and falleth to the ground, by using well-timed Indulgence;

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and the ſtubborn Adverſary who values himſelf upon his reſiſtance whilſt he is oppreſs'd, yieldeth inſenſibly to kind Methods, when they are apply'd to him, and the ſame Man naturally melteth into Conformity, who perhaps would never have been beaten into it. We may be taught by the Compaſſion that attendeth the moſt Criminal Men when they are Condemned, that Faults are more natural things than Puniſhments, and that even the moſt neceſſary acts of ſeverity do ſome kind of violence to our Nature, whoſe Indulgence will not be confin'd within the ſtrait bounds of inexorable Juſtice; ſo that this ſhould be an Argument for gentleneſs, beſides that it is the likelieſt way to make Men aſham'd of their Separation, whilſt the preſſing them too hard, tendeth rather to make them proud of it.

Our *Trimmer* would have the Clergy ſupported in their lawful Rights, and in all the Power and Dignity that belongeth to them, and yet he thinketh poſſibly there may be in ſome of them a too great eagerneſs to extend the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction; which tho' it may be well intended, yet the ſtraining of it too high hath an appearance of Ambition, that cauſeth many Objections to it, and it is very unlike the Apoſtolick Zeal, which was quite otherwiſe employ'd, that the World draweth inferences from it, which do the Church no ſervice.

He is troubled to ſee Men of all ſides ſick of a Calenture of a miſtaken Devotion, and it ſeemeth to him that the devout Fire of mutual Charity, with which the Primitive Chriſtians were inflam'd, is long ſince extinguiſh'd, and inſtead of it a devouring Fire of Anger and Perſecution breaketh out in the World; we wrangle now one with another about Religion 'till the Cloud cometh, whilſt the Ten Commandments have no more authority with us, than if they were ſo many obſolete Laws or Proclamations out of date; he thinks that a Nation will hardly be mended by Principles of Religion, where Morality is made a Hereſy; and therefore as he believeth Devotion miſplac'd where it getteth into a Conventicle, he concludeth that Loyalty is ſo, when lodg'd in a drunken Club, thoſe Vertues deſerve a better Seat of Empire, and they are degraded, when ſuch Men undertake their defence, as have ſo great need for an Apology themſelves.

Our *Trimmer* wiſheth that ſome knowledge may go along with the Zeal on the right ſide, and that thoſe who are in poſſeſſion of the Pulpit, would quote at leaſt ſo often the Authority of the Scriptures as they do that of the State; there are many who borrow too often Arguments from the Government, to uſe againſt their Adverſaries, and neglect thoſe that are more proper, and would be more powerful; a Divine grows leſs, and putteth a diminution on his own Character, when he quoteth any Law but

that

that of God Almighty, to get the better of those who contest with him; and it is a sign of a decay'd Constitution, when Nature with good diet cannot expel noxious Humours without calling Foreign Drugs to her Assistance; So it looketh like want of health in a Church, when instead of depending upon that Truth which it holdeth, and the good Examples of them that teach it, to support it self, and to suppress Errors, it should have a perpetual recourse to the secular Authority, and even upon the slightest occasions.

Our *Trimmer* hath his Objections to the too hasty diligence, and to the overdoing of some of the dissenting Clergy, and he doth as little approve of those of our Church, who wear God Almighty's Liveries, as some old Warders in the *Tower* do the Kings, who do nothing in their place but receive their Wages for it; he thinketh that the Liberty of the late times gave Men so much Light, and diffused it so universally amongst the People, that they are not now to be dealt with, as they might have been of less enquiry; and therefore tho' in some well chosen and dearly beloved Auditories, good resolute Nonsence back'd with Authority may prevail, yet generally Men are become so good Judges of what they hear, that the Clergy ought to be very wary how they go about to impose upon their Understandings, which are grown less humble than in former times, when the Men in black had made Learning such a sin in the Laity, that for fear of offending, they made a Conscience of being able to read; but now the World is grown sawcy, and do expect Reasons, and good ones too, before they give up their own Opinions to other Mens Dictates, tho' never so Magisterially deliver'd to them.

Our *Trimmer* is far from approving the Hypocrisie which seemeth to be the reigning Voice amongst some of the Dissenting Clergy, he thinketh it the most provoking sin Men can be guilty of, in Relation to Heaven, and yet (which may seem strange) that very sin which shall destroy the Soul of the Man who preaches, may help to save those of the Company that hear him, and even those who are cheated by the false Ostentation of his strictness of life, may by that Pattern be encouraged to the real Practice of those Christian Vertues which he doth so deceitfully profess; so that the detestation of this fault may possibly be carry'd on too far by our own Orthodox Divines, if they think it cannot be enough express'd without bending the Stick another way; a dangerous Method, and a worse Extream for Men of that Character, who by going to the outward line of Christian Liberty, will certainly encourage others to go beyond it: No Man doth less approve the ill-bred Methods of some of the Dissenters, in rebuking Authority, who behave themselves as if they thought ill manners necessary to Salvation, yet he cannot but distinguish and desire a Mean

between

between the ſawcyneſs of ſome of the *Scotch Apoſtles*, and the undecent Courtſhip of ſome of the Silken Divines, who, one would think, do practice to bow at the Altar, only to learn to make the better Legg at Court.

Our *Trimmer* approveth the Principles of our Church, that Dominion is not founded in Grace, and that our Obedience is to be given to a Popiſh King in other things, at the ſame time that our Compliance with him in his Religion is to be deny'd, yet he cannot but think it an extraordinary thing if a Proteſtant Church ſhould by a voluntary Election chuſe a Papiſt for their Guardian, and receive Directions for ſupporting our Religion from one who muſt believe it a Mortal Sin not to endeavour to deſtroy it; ſuch a refined piece of Breeding would not ſeem to be very well plac'd in the Clergy, who will hardly find Preſidents to juſtify ſuch an extravagant piece of Courtſhip, and which is ſo unlike the Primitive Methods, which ought to be our Pattern; he hath no ſuch unreaſonable tenderneſs for any ſorts of Men, as to expect their faults ſhould not be impartially laid open as often as they give occaſion for it; and yet he cannot but ſmile to ſee the ſame Man, who ſetteth up all the Sails of his Rhetorick, to fall upon Diſſenters; when Popery is to be handled, he doth it ſo gingerly, that he looketh like an Aſs mumbling of Thiſtles, ſo afraid he is of letting himſelf looſe upon a Subject, where he may be in danger of letting his Duty get the better of his Diſcretion.

Our *Trimmer* is far from reliſhing the impertinent Wandrings of thoſe who pour out long Prayers upon the Congregation, and all from their own Stock, which God knows, for the moſt part, is a barren Soil, which produceth Weeds inſtead of Flowers, and by this means they expoſe Religion it ſelf, rather than promote Mens Devotions: On the other ſide, there may be too great Reſtraint put upon Men, whom God and Nature hath diſtinguiſhed from their Fellow-Labourers, by bleſſing them with a happier Talent, and by giving them not only good Senſe, but a powerful Utterance too, hath enabled them to guſh out upon the attentive Auditory with a mighty Stream of Devout and unaffected Eloquence; when a Man qualified, endued with Learning too, and above that, adorn'd with a good Life, breaks out into a warm and well-deliver'd Prayer before his Sermon, it hath the appearance of a Divine Rapture, he raiſeth and leadeth the Hearts of the Aſſembly in another manner than the moſt Compos'd or beſt Studied Form of Set Words can ever do; and the Pray-wees, who ſerve up all the Sermon with the ſame Garniſhing, would look like ſo many Statues, or Men of Straw in the Pulpit, compar'd with thoſe who ſpeak with ſuch a Powerful Zeal,

Zeal, that Men are tempted at the moment to believe Heaven it self hath directed their Words to them.

Our *Trimmer* is not so unreasonably indulgent to the Dissenters, as to excuse the Irregularities of their Complaints, and to approve their threatning Stiles, which is so ill suited to their Circumstances as well as to their Duty; he would have them to shew their Grief, and not their Anger to the Government, and by such a Submission to Authority, as becomes them, if they cannot acquiesce in what is imposed; let them deserve a Legislative Remedy to their Sufferings, there being no other way to give them perfect redress; and either to seek it, or pretend to give it by any other Method, would not only be vain but Criminal too in those that go about it; yet with all this, there may in the mean time be a prudential Latitude left, as to the manner of preventing the Laws now in force against them. The Government is in some degree answerable for such an Administration of them, as may be free from the Censure of Impartial Judges; and in order to that, it would be necessary that one of these Methods be pursued, either to let loose the Laws to their utmost extent, without any Moderation or Restraint, in which at least the Equality of the Government would be without Objection, the Penalties being exacted without Remission from the Dissenters of all kinds; or if that will not be done (and indeed there is no reason it should) there is a necessity of some Connivance to the Protestant Dissenters to execute that which in Humanity must be allowed to the Papists, even without any leaning towards them, which must be supposed in those who are or shall be in the administration of publick Business; and it will follow that, according to our Circumstances, the distinction of such connivance must be made in such manner, that the greatest part of it may fall on the Protestant side, or else the Objections will be so strong, and the Inferences so clear, that the Friends, as well as the Enemies of the Crown, will be sure to take hold of them.

It will not be sufficient to say, the Papists may be conniv'd at, because they be good Subjects, but not the Protestant Dissenters, because they are ill ones; these general Maxims will not convince discerning Men, neither will any Instances be able to make them forget what hath passed at other times in the World; both sides have had their Turns of being good and ill Subjects, therefore 'tis easie to imagine what suspicions would arise in the present Conjuncture, if such a partial Argument as this should be imposed upon us: the truth is, the Matter speaketh so much of it self, that it is not only unnecessary, but it may be unmannerly to say any more of it.

Our *Trimmer* therefore weigheth, that since notwithstanding the Laws

which deny Churches to fay Maſs in; not only the Exerciſe, but alſo the Oſtentation of Popery is as well or better performed in the Chappels of ſo many Foreign Miniſters, where the *Engliſh* openly reſort in ſpight of Proclamations and Orders of Council, which are grown to be as harmleſs things to them, as the Popes Bulls and Excommunications are to Hereticks who are out of his reach; I ſay he could wish that by a ſeaſonable as well as an equal piece of Juſtice, there might be ſo much conſideration had of the Proteſtant Diſſenters, as that there might be at ſometimes, and at ſome places, a Veil thrown over an innocent and retired Conventicle, and that ſuch an Indulgence might be practic'd with leſs prejudice to the Church, or diminution to the Laws, it might be done ſo as to look rather like a kind Omiſſion to enquire too ſtrictly, than an allow'd Toleration of that which is againſt the Rule Eſtabliſhed.

Such a skilful hand as this is very Neceſſary in our Circumſtances, and the Government by making Men entirely deſperate, doth not only ſecure it ſelf from danger of any Wild or Villanous attempts, but layeth ſuch a Foundation for healing and uniting Laws, when ever a Parliament ſhall meet, that the Seeds of Differences and Animoſities between the contending ſides may (Heaven conſenting) be for ever deſtroy'd.

The *Trimmer*'s Opinion concerning the Papiſts.

TO ſpeak of Popery leadeth me into ſuch a Sea of Matter, that it is not eaſie to forbear launching into it, being invited by ſuch a fruitful ſtream, and by a variety never to be exhauſted; but to confine it to the preſent Subject, I will only ſay a ſhort word of the Religion it ſelf; of its influences here at this time; and of *Trimmer*'s Opinion in Relation to our living with them.

If a Man would ſpeak Maliciouſly of this Religion, one might ſay it is like Diſeaſes, where as long as one drop of the infection remains, there is ſtill danger of having the whole Maſs of Blood corrupted by it. In *Swedeland* there was an abſolute cure, and nothing of Popery heard of, till Queen *Chriſtiana* (whether mov'd with Arguments of this or the other World, may not be good Manners to enquire) thought fit to change her Religion and Country, and to live at *Rome* where ſhe might find better judges of her Vertues, and leſs ungentle Cenſures of thoſe Princely Li-

berties

berties she was sometimes disposed to, than she left at *Stockholme*, where the good breeding is much inferior to that of *Rome*, as well as the Civility of the Religion: The Cardinals having rescued the Church from those Clownish Methods the Fisher-men had first introduc'd, and mended that Pattern so effectually, that a Man of that Age, if he should now come into the World, would not possibly know it.

In *Denmark* the Reformation was entire, in some States of *Germany*, as well as *Geneva*, the Cure was universal; but in the rest of the World where the Protestant Religion took place, the Popish humour was too high to be totally expell'd, and so it was in *England*, tho' the Change was made with all the advantage imaginable to the Reformation, it being Countenanc'd and introduc'd by Legal Authority, and by that means might have been perhaps as perfect as in any other Place, if the short Reign of *Edward* the *6th*, and the succession of a Popish Queen had not given such advantage to that Religion, that it hath subsisted ever since under all the hardships that have been put upon it; it hath been a strong Compact Body, and made the more so by these Sufferings; it was not strong enough to prevail, but it was able with the help of *Rome*, to carry on an Interest which gave the Crown trouble, and to make a considerable (not to say dangerous) Figure in the Nation; so much as this could not have been done without some hopes, nor these hopes kept up without some reasonable grounds: In Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, the *Spanish* Zeal for their Religion, and the Revenge for 88 gave warmth for the Papists here, and above all the sight of the Queen of *Scots* to succed, while she lived, sufficient to give a better prospect of their Affairs: In King *James*'s time the *Spanish* Match and his gentleness towards them, which they were ready to interpret more in their own Favour, than was either reasonable or became them, so little tenderness they have, even where it is most due, if the Interest of their Religion cometh in competition with it.

As for the late King, tho' he gave the most Glorious Evidence that ever Man did of his being a Protestant, yet, by the more than ordinary Influence the Queen was thought to have over him, and it so happening that the greatest part of his Anger was directed against the *Puritans*, there was such an advantage to Men to suspect, that they were ready to interpret it a leaning towards Popery, without which handle it was Morally impossible that the ill-affected part of the Nation could ever have seduc'd the rest into a Rebellion.

That which help'd to confirm many well meaning Men in their Misapprehensions of the King, was the long and unusual intermission of Parliaments, so that every year that passed without one, made up a new Argument to increase their Suspicion, and made them presume that the Pa-

piſts had a principal hand in keeping them off. This raiſed ſuch heats in Mens Minds, to think that Men who are obnoxious to the Laws, inſtead of being puniſhed, ſhould have Credit enough to ſerve themſelves, even at the price of deſtroying the Fundamental Conſtitution; that it broke out into a Flame, which, before it could be quenched, had almoſt reduc'd the Nation to Aſhes.

Amongſt the miſerable Effects of that unnatural War, none hath been more fatal to us, than the forcing our Princes to breathe in another air, and to receive the early impreſſions of a Foreign Education; the Barbarity of the *Engliſh* towards the King and the Royal Family, might very well tempt him to think the better of every thing he found abroad, and might naturally produce more gentleneſs, at leaſt, towards a Religion by which he was hoſpitably receiv'd, and the ſame time he was thrown off and Perſecuted by the Proteſtants (tho' his own Subjects) to aggravate the Offence. The Queen Mother (as generally Ladies do with age) grew moſt devout and earneſt in her Religion; and beſides the Temporal Rewards of getting larger Subſidies from the *French* Clergy, ſhe had Motives of another kind, to perſwade her to ſhew her Zeal; and ſince by the *Roman* Diſpenſatory, a Soul converted to the Church is a Soveraign Remedy, and layeth up a mighty ſtock of merit; ſhe was ſolicitous to ſecure her ſelf in all Events, and therefore firſt ſet upon the Duke of *Glouceſter*, who depended ſo much upon her good will, that ſhe might for that reaſon believe the Conqueſt would not be difficult; but it ſo fell out that he, either from his own Conſtancy, or that he had thoſe near him by whom he was otherways adviſ'd, choſe rather to run away from her importunity, than by ſtaying to bear the continual weight of it: It is believ'd this had better ſucceſs with another of her Sons, who, if he was not quite brought off from our Religion, at leaſt, ſuch beginnings were made, as made them very eaſie to be finiſh'd; his being of a generous and aſpiring Nature, and in that reſpect, leſs patient in the drudgery of arguing, might poſſibly help to recommend a Church to him, that exempteth the Laity from the vexation of enquiring; perhaps he might (tho' by miſtake) look upon that Religion as more favourable to the enlarged Power of Kings, a Conſideration which might have its weight with a young Prince in his warm blood, and that was brought up in Arms.

I cannot hinder my ſelf from a ſmall digreſſion, to conſider with admiration the Old Lady of *Rome*, with all her wrinkles, ſhould yet have Charms to ſubdue great Princes, ſo painted, and yet ſo pretending, after having abus'd, depos'd, and murther'd ſo many of her Lovers, ſhe ſtill findeth others glad and proud of their new Chains; a thing ſo ſtrange, to indifferent Judges, that thoſe who will allow no other Miracles in the Church

Church of *Rome*, must needs grant that this is one not to be conteſted; ſhe ſitteth in her Shop, and ſelleth at dear Rates her Rattles and her Hobby-Horſes, whilſt the deluded World ſtill continues to furniſh her with Cuſtomers.

But whither am I carried with this Contemplation? it is high time to return to my Text, and to conſider the wonderful manner of the Kings coming home again, led by the hand of Heaven, and called by the Voice of his own People, who receiv'd him, if poſſible, with Joys equal to the Bleſſing of Peace and Union which his Reſtauration brought along with it: by this there was an end put to the hopes ſome might have abroad, of making uſe of his leſs happy Circumſtances, to throw him into foreign Intereſts and Opinions, which had been wholly inconſiſtent with our Religion, our Laws, and all other things that are dear to us; yet for all this, ſome of thoſe Tinctures and impreſſions might ſo far remain, as tho' they were very innocent in him, yet they might have ill effects, by ſoftning the Animoſity which ſeems neceſſary to the Defender of the Proteſtant Faith, in oppoſition to ſuch a powerful and irreconcilable an Enemy.

You may be ſure, that among all the ſorts of Men who apply'd themſelves to the King at his firſt coming, for his Protection; the Papiſts were not the laſt, nor, as they fain would have flatter'd themſelves, the leaſt welcome; having their paſt Sufferings, as well as their preſent Profeſſions to recommend them; and there was ſomething that look'd like a Conſiderable Conſideration of them, ſince ſo it happened, that the Indulgence promiſed to Diſſenters at *Breda*, was carried on in ſuch a manner, that the Papiſts were to divide with them, and tho' the Parliament, notwithſtanding its Reſignation to the Crown in all other things, rejected with ſcorn and anger a Declaration fram'd for this purpoſe, yet the Birth and ſteps of it gave ſuch an alarm, that Mens ſuſpicions once raiſed, were not eaſily laid aſleep again.

To omit other things, the breach of the Tripple League, and the *Dutch* War with its appurtenances, carried Jealouſies to the higheſt pitch imaginable, and fed the hopes of one Party, and the fears of the other to ſuch a degree, that ſome Critical Reſolutions were generally expected, when the ill ſucceſs of that War, and the Sacrifice, Fame thought fit to make of the Papiſts here, to their own Intereſt abroad, gave another Check; and the Act of enjoyning the Teſt on all Officers, was thought to be no ill Bargain to the Nation, tho' bought at the Price of 1200000 pound, and the Money apply'd to continue the War againſt the *Dutch*, than which nothing could be more unpopular or leſs approv'd; notwithſtanding thoſe diſcouragements, Popery is a Plant that may be mowed down,

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but the Root will ſtill remain, and in ſpite of the Laws, it will ſprout up and grow again; eſpecially if it ſhould happen that there ſhould be Men in Power, who inſtead of weeding it out of our Garden, will take care to Cheriſh and keep it alive; and tho' the Law of excluding them from Places was tolerably kept as to their outward Form, yet there were many Circumſtances, which being improv'd by the quick-ſighted Malice of ill-affected Men, did help to keep up the World in their ſuſpicions, and to blow up Jealouſies to ſuch a height both in and out of Parliament, that the remembrance of them is very unpleaſant, and the Example ſo extravagant, that it is to be hop'd nothing in our Age like it will be attempted; but to come cloſer to the Caſe in queſtion, in this Condition we ſtand with the Papiſts, what ſhall now be done according to our *Trimmer*'s Opinion, in order to the better clearing of this grievance, ſince as I have ſaid before, there is no hopes of being entirely free from it; Papiſts we muſt have among us, and if their Religion keep them from bringing honey to the Hive, let the Government try at leaſt by gentle and not by violent means to take away the Sting from them; the firſt Foundation to be laid is, that a diſtinct Conſideration is to be had of the Papiſts Clergy, who have ſuch an Eſſential Intereſt againſt all accommodation, that it is a hopeleſs thing to propoſe any thing to them leſs than all; their Stomachs have been fit for it ever ſince the Reformation, they have pinn'd themſelves to a Principle that admits no mean; they believe Proteſtants will be damn'd, and therefore by an extraordinary Effect of Chriſtian Charity, they would deſtroy one half of *England* that the other might be ſaved; then for the World, they muſt be in poſſeſſion for God Almighty, to receive his Rents for him, not to accompt till the Day of Judgment, which is a good kind of Tenure, and ye cannot well blame the good Men, that will ſtir up the Laity to run any hazard in order to the getting them reſtor'd: What is it to the Prieſt, if the deluded Zealot undoes himſelf in the Attempt, he ſingeth Maſſes as joyfully, and with as good a Voice at *Rome* or St. *Omers* as ever he did; is a ſingle Man, and can have no wants but ſuch as may be eaſily ſupply'd, yet that he may not ſeem altogether inſenſible, or ungrateful to thoſe that are his Martyrs, he is ready to aſſure their Executors, and if they pleaſe, will procure a Grant *ſub Anulo Piſcatoris*, that the good Man by being changed, hath got a good Bargain, and ſav'd the ſinging of ſome hundred of years, which he would elſe have had in Purgatory; there's no Cure for thoſe ſorts of Men, no Expedient to be propos'd, ſo that tho' the utmoſt ſeverity of the Laws againſt them, may in ſome ſort be mittigated, yet no Treaty can be made with Men who in this Caſe have no Free Will, but are ſo muffled by Zeal, tyed by Vows, and kept up by ſuch unchangeable Maxims of the Prieſthood, that they are no better than deſperate

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ſperate Patients, and look'd upon as Men that will continue in an Eternal State of Hoſtility, till the Nation is entirely ſubdued to them; it is then only the Lay Papiſts that are capable of being treated with, and we are to examine of what temper they are, and what Arguments are the moſt likely to prevail upon them, and how 'tis adviſeable for the Government to be Indulgent unto them; the Lay Papiſts generally keep their Religion, rather becauſe they will not break Company with thoſe of their Party, than out of any ſetled Zeal that hath Root in them; moſt of them do by the Mediation of the Prieſts Marry one another, and by keeping up an ignorant Opinion by hearing only one ſide; others look upon it as the Eſcutcheons, the more Antient Religion of the two; and as ſome Men of a good Pedigree, will deſpiſe meaner Men, tho' never ſo much ſuperior to them by Nature, ſo theſe undervalue Reformation as an Upſtart, and think there is more Honour in ſupporting an old Errour, than in embracing what ſeemeth to be a new Truth; the Laws have made them Men of Pleaſure, by excluding them from Publick Buſineſs, and it happens well they are ſo, ſince they will the more eaſily be perſwaded by Arguments of Eaſe and Conveniency to them; they have not put off the Man in general, nor the *Engliſhman* in particular; thoſe who in the late ſtorm againſt them went into other Countries, tho' they had all the Advantage that might recommend them to a good Reception, yet in a little time they choſe to ſteal over again, and live here with hazard, rather than abroad with ſecurity; there is a Smell in our Natural Earth better than all the Perfumes in the Eaſt; there is ſomething in a Mother, tho' never ſo Angry, that the Children will more Naturally truſt ſooner, than the Studied Civilities of Strangers, let them be never ſo Hoſpitable; therefore 'tis not adviſeable, nor agreeing with the Rules of Governing Prudence, to provoke Men by hardſhips to forget that Nature, which elſe is ſure to be of our ſide.

When theſe Men by fair Uſage are put again into their right Senſes, they will have quite differing Reflections from thoſe which Rigour and Perſecution had raiſed in them: A Lay-Papiſt will firſt conſider his Abby-Lands, which notwithſtanding whatever hath or can be alledged; muſt ſink conſiderably in the Value, the moment that Popery prevaileth; and it being a Diſputable Matter whether Zeal might not in a little time get the better of the Law in that caſe, a conſidering Man will admit that as an Argument to perſwade him, to be content with things as they are, rather than run this or any other hazard by Change, in which perhaps he may have no other Advantage, than that his new humble Conſtellour may be rais'd to a Biſhoprick, and from thence look down ſuperciliouſly upon his Patron, or which is worſe, run to take Poſſeſſion for God Almighty of his Abby, in ſuch manner

ner as the uſurping Landlord (as he will then be called) ſhall hardly be admitted to be ſo much as a Tenant to his own Lands, leſt his Title ſhould prejudice that of the Church, which will then be the language; he will think what diſadvantage 'tis to be look'd upon as a ſeparate Creature, depending upon foreign Intereſt and Authority, and for that reaſon, expos'd to the Jealouſie and Suſpicion of his Country-Men; he will reflect what an Incumbrance it is to have his Houſe a Paſture for hungry Prieſts to grow in, which have ſuch a never-failing Influence upon the Fooliſh, which is the greateſt part of every Man's Family, that a Man's Dominion, even over his own Children, is mangled and divided, if not totally undermin'd by them; then to be ſubject to what arbitrary Taxes the Popiſh Convocations ſhall impoſe upon them for the carrying on the Common Intereſt of that Religion, under Penalty of being mark'd out for half Hereticks by the reſt of the Laity, to have no ſhare in Buſineſs, no opportunity of ſhewing his own Value to the World; to live at the beſt an uſeleſs, and by others to be thought a dangerous Member of the Nation where he is born, is a burden to a generous Mind that cannot be taken off by all the Pleaſure of an eaſie unmanly life, or by the nauſeous enjoyment of a dull Plenty, that produceth no good for the Mind, which will ever be conſider'd in the firſt place by a Man that hath a Soul; when he ſhould think, that if his Religion, after his wading through a Sea of Blood, come at laſt to prevail, it would infinitely leſſen, if not entirely deſtroy the Glory, Riches, Strength and Liberty of his own Country; and what a Sacrifice is this to make to *Rome*, where they are wiſe enough to wonder there ſhould be ſuch Fools in the World, as to venture, ſtruggle, and contend, nay, even to die Martyrs for that which, ſhould it ſucceed, would prove a Judgment inſtead of a Bleſſing to them; he will conclude that the advantages of throwing ſome of their Children back again to God Almighty when they have too many of them, are not equal to the Inconveniences they may either feel or fear, by continuing their ſeparation from the Religion eſtabliſhed.

Moral things will have their weight in the World, and tho' Zeal may prevail for a time, and get the better in a Skirmiſh, yet the War endeth generally on the ſide of Fleſh and Blood, and will do ſo till Mankind is another thing than it is at preſent: And therefore a wiſe Papiſt in cold Blood, conſidering theſe and many other Circumſtances, 'twill be worth his pains to ſee if he can unmuffle himſelf from the Maſk of Infallibility, will think it reaſonable to ſet his impriſon'd Senſes at Liberty, and that he hath a right to ſee with his own

own Eyes, hear with his own Ears, and judge by his own Reaſon; the conſequence of which muſt probably be, that weighing things in a right Scale, and ſeeing them in their true Colours, he would diſtinguiſh between the merit of ſuffering for a good Cauſe, and the fooliſh oſtentation of drawing inconveniences upon himſelf, and therefore would not be unwilling to be convinc'd that our Proteſtant Creed may make him happy in the other World, and the eaſier in this; a few of ſuch wiſe Proſelytes would by their Example draw ſo many after them, that the Party would inſenſibly melt away, and in a little time, without any angry word, we ſhould come to an Union, that all Good Men would have Reaſon to rejoyce at; but we are not to preſume upon theſe Converſions, without preparing Men for them by kind and reconciling Arguments; nothing is ſo againſt our Nature, as to believe thoſe can be in the right who are too hard upon us; there is a deformity in every thing that doth us hurt, it will look ſcurvily in our Eye while the ſmart continues, and a Man muſt have an extraordinary Meaſure of Grace, to think well of a Religion that reduceth him and his Family to Miſery; in this reſpect our *Trimmer* would conſent to the mitigation of ſuch Laws as were made, (as it's ſaid King *Henry* VIII. got Queen *Elizabeth*) in a heat againſt *Rome*: It may be ſaid that even States as well as private Men are ſubject to Paſſion; a juſt indignation of a villainous Attempt produceth at the time ſuch Remedies, as perhaps are not without ſome mixture of Revenge, and therefore tho' time cannot Repeal a Law, it may by a Natural Effect ſoften the Execution of it; there is leſs danger to rouſe a Lyon when at Reſt, than to wake Laws, that intended to have their time of Sleeping, nay more than that, in ſome caſes their Natural periods of Life, dying of themſelves without the Solemnity of being revok'd, any, otherwiſe than by the common conſent of Mankind, who do ceaſe to Execute, when the Reaſons in great Meaſure fail that firſt Created and Satisfyed the Rigour of unuſual Penalties.

Our *Trimmer* is not eager to pick out ſome places in Hiſtory againſt this or any other Party; quite contrary, is very ſollicitous to find out any thing that may be healing, and tend to an Agreement; but to preſcribe the Means of this Gentleneſs ſo as to make it effectual, muſt come from the only place that can furniſh Remedies for this Cure, *viz.* a Parliament; in the mean time, it is to be wiſhed there may be ſuch a mutual calmneſs of Mind, as that the Proteſtants might not be ſo jealous, as ſtill to ſmell the Match that was to blow up the King, and both Houſes in the Gunpowder Treaſon, or to ſtart at every appearance of Popery, as if it were juſt taking Poſſeſſion. On the other ſide, that the Papiſts may not ſuffer themſelves to be led by any hopes, tho' never ſo flattering, to a Confidence or Oſten-

cation which must provoke Men to be less kind to them; that they may use Modesty on their sides, and the Protestants Indulgence on theirs; by this means there will be an over-looking of all venial Faults, a tacit connivance at all things that do not carry Scandal with it, and it would amount to a kind of Natural Dispensation with the severe Laws, since there would be no more Accusers to be found, were the occasions of Anger and Animosity once remov'd; let the Papists in the mean time remember, that there is a respect due from all lesser numbers to greater, a deference to be paid by an Opinion that is Exploded, to one that is Established; such things well digested will have an influence upon their Behaviour, and produce such a Temper as must win the most eager Adversaries out of their ill Humour to them, and give them a Title to all the Favour that may be consistent with the Publick Peace and Security.

The *Trimmer's* Opinion in Relation to things abroad.

THE World is so compos'd, that it is hard, if not impossible, for a Nation not to be a great deal involv'd in the fate of their Neighbours; and tho' by the felicity of our Situation, we are more Independent than any other People, yet we have in all Ages been concern'd for our own selves in the Revolutions abroad. There was a time when *England* was the over-Ballancing Power of Christendom, and that either by Inheritance or Conquest, the better part of *France* receiv'd Laws from us; after that we being reduc'd into our own Limits, *France* and *Spain* became the Rivals for the Universal Monarchy, and our third Power, tho' in it self less than either of the other, happned to be Superiour to any of them, by that choice we had of throwing the Scales on that side to which we gave our Friendship. I do not know whether this Figure did not make us as great as our Formal Conquest, to be a perpetual Umpire between the two great contending Powers, who gave us all their Courtship, and offer'd all their Incense at our Altar, whilst the Fate of either Prince seemed to depend upon the Oracles we delivered, for the King of *England* to sit on his Throne, as in the Supream Court of Justice, which the two last appeal, the two great Monarchs pleading their Cause, and expecting their Sentence; declaring which side was in the right, or at least if we pleas'd which side should have the better of it, was a piece of Greatness which was peculiar to us, and no wonder if we endeavour

your to preſerve it, as we did for a conſiderable time, it being our Safety, as well as Glory, to maintain it; but by a Fatality upon our Councils, or by the refin'd Policy of this latter Age, we have thought fit to uſe Induſtry to deſtroy this mighty Power, which we have ſo long enjoyed; and that equality between the two Monarchs, which we might for ever have preſerved, hath been chiefly broken by us, whoſe Intereſt it was above all others to maintain it; when one of them, like the overflowing of the Sea, had gained more upon the other than our conveniency, or indeed our ſafety, would allow, inſtead of mending the Banks, or making new ones, we our ſelves helpt to cut them, to invite and make way for a farther Inundation. *France* and *Spain* have had their ſeveral turns in making uſe of our Miſtakes, and we have been formerly as deaf to the Inſtances of the then weaker part of the World to help them againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*, as we can now be to the Earneſtneſs of *Spain*, that we would aſſiſt them againſt the Power of *France*. *Goudamar* was as ſawcy, and as powerful too in King *James* his Court, as any French Ambaſſadour can have been at any time ſince, when men talkt as wrong then on the *Spaniſh* ſide, and made their Court by it, as any can have done ſince by talking as much for the *French*; ſo that from that time, inſtead of weighing in a wiſe Balance the Power of either Crown, it looketh as if we had meant only to weigh the Penſions, and take the heavieſt.

It would be tedious, as well as unwelcome, to recapitulate all our wrong ſteps, ſo that I will go no farther than the King's Reſtauration, at which time the Balance was on the ſide of *France*, and that by the means of *Cromwell*, who for a ſeparate Intereſt of his own, had ſacrificed that of the Nation, by joyning with the ſtronger ſide, to ſuppreſs the Power of *Spain*, which he ought to have ſupported. Such a Method was natural enough to an Uſurper, and ſhew'd he was not the Father of the People, by his having ſo little care for them; and the Example coming from that hand, one would think ſhould, for that Reaſon, be leſs likely to be follow'd. But to go on, here cometh the King, follow'd with Courtſhips of all Nations abroad, of which ſome did it not only to forget how familiarly they had us'd him when he was in other Circumſtances, but to beſpeak the Friendſhip of a Prince, who, beſides his other Greatneſs, was more conſiderable by being re-eſtabliſht by the love of his people; *France* had an Intereſt either to diſpoſe us to ſo much good will, or at leaſt to put us in ſuch a Condition, that we might give no Oppoſition to their Deſigns; and *Flanders* being a perpetual Object in their Eye, a laſting Beauty for which they have an incurable paſſion, and not being kind enough to conſent to them, they meditated to commit a Rape upon her, which they thought would not be eaſie to do, whilſt *England* and *Holland* were

agreed to reſcue her, when-ever they ſhould hear her cry out for help to them; to this end they put in practice ſeaſonable and artificial Whiſpers, to widen things between us and the States. *Amboyna* and the Fiſhery muſt be talk'd of here; the freedom of the Seas and the preſervation of Trade muſt be talk'd of and inſinuated there; and there being combuſtible matter on both ſides, in a little time it took fire, which gave thoſe that kindled it, ſufficient cauſe to ſmile and hug themſelves, to ſee us both fall into the Net they had laid for us; and it is obſervable and of good example to us, if we will take it, That their Deſign being to ſet us together at Cuffs to weaken us, they kept themſelves indifferent till our Victories began to break the Balance; then the King of *France*, like a wiſe Prince, was reſolved to ſupport the beaten ſide, and would no more let the Power of the Sea, than we ought to ſuffer the Monarchy of *Europe*, to fall into one hand: In purſuance to this, he took part with the *Dutch*, and in a little time made himſelf Umpire of the Peace between us; ſome time after, upon pretence of his Queen's Title to part of *Flanders*, by Right of Devolution, he falleth into it with a mighty Force, for which the *Spaniards* were ſo little prepared, that he made a very ſwift Progreſs, and had ſuch a Torrent of undiſputed Victory, that *England* and *Holland*, tho' the Wounds they had given one another were yet green, being ſtruck with the apprehenſion of ſo near a danger to them, thought it neceſſary, for their own defence, to make up a ſudden League, into which *Sweden* was taken to interpoſe for a Peace between the two Crowns.

This had ſo good an effect, that *France* was ſtopt in its Career, and the Peace of *Aix le Chapelle* was a little after concluded. 'Twas a forc'd putt; and tho' *France* wiſely diſſembled their inward diſſatisfaction, yet from the very moment they reſolv'd to unty the Triple knot, whatever it coſt them; for his Chriſtian Majeſty, after his Conquering Meals, ever riſeth with a ſtomach, and he lik'd the Pattern ſo well, that it gave him a longing deſire to have the whole Piece. Amongſt the other means uſed for the attaining this end, the ſending over the Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, was not the leaſt powerful, ſhe was a very welcome Gueſt here, and her own Charms and Dexterity joined with other Advantages, that might help her perſwaſions, gave her ſuch an Aſcendent, that ſhe could hardly fail of ſucceſs. One of the Preliminaries of her Treaty, tho' a trivial thing in it ſelf, yet was conſiderable in the conſequence, as very ſmall Circumſtances often are in relation to the Government of the World. About this time a general humour, in oppoſition to *France*, had made us throw off their Faſhion, and put on Veſts, that we might look more like a diſtinct People, and not be under the ſervility of imitation, which ever payeth a greater deference to the Original, than is conſiſtent with the

Equality

Equality all Independent Nations ſhould pretend to; *France* did not like this ſmall beginning of ill humours, and leaſt of Emulation, and wiſely conſidering that it is a natural Introduction firſt to make the World their Apes, that they may be afterwards their Slaves. It was thought that one of the Inſtructions Madam brought along with her, was to laugh us out of theſe Veſts, which ſhe performed ſo effectually, that in a moment, like ſo many Footmen who had quitted their Maſters Livery, we all took it again, and return'd to her Service; ſo that the very time of doing it gave a very critical Advantage to *France*, ſince it lookt like an Evidence of our returning to their Intereſt, as well as to their Faſhion, and would give ſuch a diſtruſt of us to our new Allies, that it might facilitate the diſſolution of the knot, which tied them ſo within their bounds, that they were very impatient till they were freed from the reſtraint.

And the Lady had a more extended Commiſſion than this, and we double-laid the Foundation for a new ſtrict Alliance, quite contrary to the other, in which we had been ſo lately engag'd. And of this there were ſuch early appearances, that the World began to look upon us as falling into Apoſtacy from the common Intereſt. Notwithſtanding all this, *France* did not neglect at the ſame time to give good words to the *Dutch*, and even to feed them with hopes of ſupporting them againſt us, when on a ſudden, that never to be forgotten Declaration of War againſt them cometh out, only to vindicate his own Glory, and to revenge the Injuries done to his Brother of *England*, by which he came out Second in this Duel; ſo humble can this Prince be, when at the ſame time he doth more Honour than we deſerve, he layeth a greater ſhare of the blame upon our ſhoulders, than did naturally belong to us; the particulars of that War, our part in it while we ſtaid in, and when we were out of breath, our leaving the *French* to make an end to fight, are things too well known to make it neceſſary, and too unwelcome in themſelves to incite me to repeat them; only the Wiſdom of *France* is in this to be obſerv'd, That when we had made a ſeparate Peace, which left them ſingle to oppoſe the united Force of the Confederates, they were ſo far from being angry, that they would not ſhew ſo much as the leaſt coldneſs, hoping to get as much by our Mediation for a Peace, as they would have expected from our Aſſiſtance in the War, our Circumſtances at that time conſider'd. This ſeaſonable piece of Indulgence in not reproaching us, but rather allowing thoſe Neceſſities of State which we gave for our Excuſe, was ſuch an engaging Method, that it went a great way to keep us ſtill in his Chains, when, to the Eye of the World, we had abſolutely broke looſe from him: And what paſs'd afterwards at *Nimeguen*, tho' the King's Neutrality gave him the outward Figure of a Mediator, it appear'd

pear'd that his Interposition was extremely suspected of Partiality by the Confederates, who upon that Ground did both at and before the Conclusion of the Treaty, treat his Ministers there with a great deal of neglect. In this Peace, as well as that in the *Pirenean* and *Aix-la-Chapelle*, the King of *France*, at the Moment of making it, had the thought of breaking it; for a very little time after he broach'd his Intentions upon a Coast, or things that if they had been offer'd by a less formidable hand, would have been smiled at; but ill Arguments being seconded by good Armies, carry such a power with them, that naked sense is a very unequal Adversary. It was thought that these aiery Claims were chiefly rais'd with the prospect of getting *Luxenburgh* for the Equivalent; and this Opinion was confirm'd by the blocking it up afterwards, pretending to the Country of *China*, that it might be entirely surrounded by the *French* Dominions, it was so pressed that it might have fallen in a little time, if the King of *France* had not sent Orders to his Troops to retire, and his Christian Generosity which was assign'd for the reason of it, made the World smile, since it hath been seen how differently his devout Zeal worketh in *Hungary*: that specious Reason was in many respects ill tun'd, and *France* it self gave it so faintly, that at the very time it look'd out of Countenance; the true ground of his Retiring is worth our observation; for at the Instance of the Confederates, Offices were done, and the Memorials given, but all ineffectual till the word *Parliament* was put into them; that powerful word had such an effect, that even at that distance it rais'd the Siege, which may convince us of what efficacy the King's words are, when he will give them their full weight, and threaten with his *Parliament*; it is then that he appears that great Figure we ought to represent him in our Minds, the Nation his Body, he the Head, and joined with that Harmony, that every word he pronounceth is the word of a Kingdom: Such words, even by this Example, are as effectual as Fleets and Armies, because they can create them, and without this his word sounds abroad like a faint Whisper, that is either not heard (or which is worse) not minded. But tho' *France* had made this step of forced Compliance, it did not leave off the pursuit of their pretensions; and therefore immediately proposed the Arbitration to the King; but it appear'd, that notwithstanding his *Merit* towards the Confederates, in saving *Luxenburgh*, the remembrances of what had passed before, left such an ill taste in their *Mouths*, they could not without being put into a Condition to dispose of their Interests, and therefore declin'd it by insisting upon a general Treaty, to which *France* hath ever since continued to be averse; our great earnestness to perswade the Confederates to consent to it, was so unusual, and so suspicious a method, that it might naturally

turally make them believe, that *France* ſpake to them by our *Mouth*, and for that Reaſon, if there hath been no other, might hinder the accepting it; and ſo little care hath been taken to cure this, and other Jealouſies the Confederates may have entertain'd, that quite contrary, their *Miniſters* here every day take freſh Alarms, from what they obſerve in ſmall as well as greater Circumſtances; and they being apt both to take and improve apprehenſions of this kind, draw ſuch Inferences from them, as make them entirely deſpair of us.

Thus we now ſtand, far from being Innocent Spectators of our Neighbours Ruine, and by a fatal miſtake forgetting what a Certain Forerunner it is to our own; and now it's time our *Trimmer* ſhould tell ſomething of his Opinion, upon this preſent State of things abroad; he firſt profeſſeth to have no Biaſs, either for or againſt *France*, and that his thoughts are wholly directed by the Intereſt of his own Country; he allowеth, and hath read that *Spain* uſed the ſame Methods, when it was in its height, as *France* doth now, and therefore 'tis not Partiality that moveth him; but the juſt fear which all reaſonable Men muſt be poſſeſs'd with, of an overgrowing Power; *Ambition* is a devouring Beaſt, when it hath ſwallow'd one Prince, inſtead of being cloyed, it hath ſo much the greater *Stomach* to another, and being fed, becometh ſtill the more hungry; ſo that for the Confederates to expect a ſecurity from any thing but their own ſtrength, is a moſt miſerable fallacy; and if they cannot reſiſt the *Incroachments* of *France* by their Arms, it is in vain for them to dream of any other means of preſervation, it will have the better grace, beſides the ſaving ſo much Blood and Ruine, to give all up at once; make a Preſent of themſelves, to appeaſe this hungry Stomach, rather than be whipſer'd, flatter'd, or Cozened out of their Liberties; nothing is ſo ſoft as the firſt applications of a greater Prince, to engage a weaker, but that pleaſing Countenance is but a Vizard, it is not the true Face, for as ſoon as their turn is ſerv'd, the Courtſhip flyeth to ſome other Prince or State, where the ſame part is to be acted, leaveth the old miſtaken Friend, to Neglect and Contempt, and like an inſolent Lover to a Caſt off Miſtreſs, Reproacheth even with that Infamy, of which he himſelf was the Author. *Sweden*, *Bavaria*, *Palatine*, *&c.* may by their Freſh Examples, teach other Princes what they are reaſonably to expect, and what Snakes are hid under the Flowers the Crown of *France* ſo liberally throws upon them, whilſt they can be uſeful: The various Methods and deep Riddles, with the differing Notes in ſeveral Countries, do not only give ſuſpicion, but aſſurance that every thing is put in Practice, by which the Univerſal Monarchy may be obtained: who can reconcile the withdrawing of his Troops from *Luxenburgh*, in conſideration of the War in

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Hungary, which was not then declar'd, and presently after encouraging the *Turk* to take *Vienna*, and consequently to destroy the Empire. Or who can think that the Prosecution of the Poor Protestants of *France*, will be accepted of God, as an Attonement for hazarding the loss of the whole Christian Faith? Can he be thought in earnest, when he seem'd afraid of the *Spaniards*, and for that reason must have *Luxenburgh*, and that he cannot be safe from *Germany*, unless he is in possession of *Strasburgh*? All Injustice and Violence must in it self be grievous, but the aggravations of supporting them by false Arguments, and insulting Reasons, hath something in it yet more provoking, than the Injuries themselves; and the World hath ground enough to apprehend, from such a Method of arguing, that even their Senses are to be subdu'd as well as their Liberties. Then the Variety of Arguments used by *France*, in several Countries is very observable: In *England* and *Denmark*, nothing instill'd, but the Greatness and Authority of the Crown; on the other side, the great Men in *Poland* are commended, who differ in Opinion with the King, and they argue like Friends to the Priviledge of the Dyet, against the separate Power of the Crown: In *Sweden* they are troubled that the King should have chang'd something there of late, by his single Authority, from the ancient and settled Authority and Constitutions; at *Ratisbone*, the most Christian Majesty taketh the Liberties of all the Electors, and their Estates, into his immediate protection, and telleth them the Emperour is a dangerous Man, an aspiring Hero, that would infallibly devour them, if they were not at hand to resist him on their behalf; but above all in *Holland*, he hath the most obliging tenderness for the *Common-wealth*, and is in such disquiets, lest it should be invaded by the Prince of *Orange*, that they can do no less in gratitude, than destroy themselves when he biddeth them, to see how sensible they are of his excessive good Nature; yet in spight of all these Contradictions, there are in the World such refin'd *States-men*, as will upon their Credit affirm the following Paradoxes to be real truth; first that *France* alone is sincere and keepeth its Faith, and consequently that it is the only Friend we can rely upon; the King of *France*, of all Men living, hath the least mind to be a Conquerour; that he is a sleepy, tame Creature, void of all Ambition, a poor kind of a Man, that hath no farther thoughts than quiet; that he is charm'd by his Friendship to us, that it is impossible he should ever do us hurt, and therefore tho' *Flanders* was lost, it would not in the least concern us; that he would fain help the Crown of *England* to be absolute, which would be to take pains to put it into a condition to oppose him, as it is, and must be our Interest, as long as he continueth in such an overballancing Power and Greatness.

Such a Creed as this once receiv'd, might prepare our belief for greater things,

things, and as he that taught Men to eat a Dagger, began first with a Penknife; so that if we can be prevail'd with to digest the smaller Mistakes, we may at last make our stomachs strong enough for that of Transubstantiation. Our *Trimmer* cannot easily be converted out of his senses by these *State* Sophistries, and yet he hath no such peevish Obstinacy to reject all Correspondence with *France*, because we ought to be apprehensive of the too great power of it; he would not have the Kings Friendship to the Confederates extended to the involving him in any unreasonable or dangerous Engagements, neither would he have him lay aside the consideration of his better establishment at home, and of his excessive Zeal to serve his Allies abroad; but sure there might be a Mean between these two opposite Extreams, and it may be wish'd that our Friendship with *France* may be so bounded, that it may consist with the humour as well as the interest of *England*. There is no Woman but hath the fears of contracting too near an intimacy with a much greater Beauty, because it exposeth her too often to a Comparison that is not advantagious to her; and sure it may become a Prince to be as jealous of his Dignity, as a Lady can be of her good looks, and to be as much out of Countenance, to be thought an humble Comparison, to so much a greater Power; to be always seen in an ill light, to be so darkned by the brightness of a greater Star, is somewhat mortifying; and when *England* might ride Admiral at the head of the Confederates, to look like the Kitchin-Yatch to the Grand *Louis*, is but a scurvy Figure for us to make in the Map of *Christendom*; it would rise upon our *Trimmer*'s stomach, if ever (which God forbid) the power of calling and intermitting Parliaments here, should be transferred to the Crown of *France*, and that all the opportunities of our own settlements at home should give way to their designs abroad; and that our Interest should be so far sacrific'd to our Compliance, that all the Omnipotence of *France* can never make us full amends for it. In the mean time, he shrinketh at the dismal prospect he can by no means drive away from his thoughts, that when *France* hath gather'd all the fruit arising from our Mistakes, and that we can bear no more with them, they will cut down the Tree and throw it into the fire; all this while, some Superfine States-Men, to comfort us, would fain perswade the World that this or that accident may save us, and for all that is or ought to be dear to us, would have us to rely wholly upon Chance, not considering that Fortune is Wisdoms Creature, and that God Almighty doteth to be on the Wisest as well as the Strongest side; therefore this is such a miserable shift, such a shameful Evasion, that they would be laught to death for it, if the ruining Consequence of this Mistake did not more dispose Men to rage, and a detestation of it.

Our *Trimmer* is far from Idolatry in other things, in one thing only he cometh near it, his Country is in some degree his Idol; he doth not Worship the Sun, because 'tis not peculiar to us, it rambleth about the World, and is less kind to us than others; but for the Earth of *England*, tho' perhaps inferiour to that of many places abroad, to him there is Divinity in it, and he would rather dye, than see a piece of *English* Grass trampled on by a foreign Trespasser: he thinks there are a great many of his mind, for all Plants are apt to taste of the Soyle in which they grow, and we that grow here, have a Root that produceth in us a Stalk of English Juice, which is not to be changed by grafting or foreign infusion; and I do not know whether any thing less will prevail, than the Modern Experiment, by which the blood of one Creature is transmitted to another, according to which, before the *French* be let into our Bodies, every drop of our own must be drawn out of them.

Our *Trimmer* cannot but lament, that by a Sacrifice too great for one Nation to make another, we should be like a rich Mine, made useless only for want of being wrought, and that the Life and Vigour which should move us against our Enemies is miserably apply'd to tear our own Bowels, that being made by our scituation, not only safer, but if we please greater too, than Countries which far exceed us in extent; that having Courage by Nature, Learning by Industry, Riches by Trade, we should corrupt all these Advantages so as to make them insignificant, and by a fatality which seemeth peculiar to us, misplace our active rage one against another, whilst we are turn'd into Statues on that side where lyeth our greatest danger; to be unconcern'd not only in our Neighbours ruine but our own, and let our Island lye like a great Hulk in the Sea, without Rudder or Sail, all the Men cast away in her, or as if we were all Children in a great Cradle, and rockt asleep to a foreign Tune.

I say our *Trimmer* representeth to his Mind, our Roses blasted and discolour'd, whilst the Lillies Triumph and grow Insolent, upon the Comparison; when he considereth our own flourishing Harvest now withered and dying, and nothing left us but a remembrance of a better part in History, than we shall make in the next Age, which will be no more to us than an Escutcheon hung upon our Door when we are dead; when he foreseeth from hence, growing Infamy from abroad, confusion at home, and all this without the possibility of a Cure, in respect of the voluntary fetters good Men put upon themselves by their Allegiance, without a good measure of preventing Grace, he would be tempted to go out of the World like a *Roman* Philosopher, rather than endure the burthen of Life under such a discouraging Prospect: But Mistakes, as all other things, have their Periods, and many times the neareſt way to Cure, is

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not to oppose them, but stay till they are crusht with their own weight, for Nature will not let any thing to continue long that is violent; violence is a wound, and as a wound, must be Curable in a little time, or else 'tis Mortal; but a Nation cometh near to be Immortal, therefore the wound will one time or another be Cured, tho' perhaps by such wrong Methods, if too long forborn, as may even make the best Remedies we can prepare, to be at the same time a Melancholly Contemplation to us; there is but one thing (God Almighties Providence excepted) to support a Man from sinking under these afflicting thoughts, and that is the hopes we draw singly from the King himself, without mixture of any other Consideration.

Tho' the Nation was lavish of their Kindness to him at his first coming, yet there remaineth still a Stock of Warmth in Mens Hearts for him.

Besides the good Influences of his happy Planet are not yet all spent, and tho' the Stars of Men past their Youth are generally declining, and have less Force, like the Eyes of decaying Beauties, yet by a Blessing peculiar to himself, we may yet hope to be sav'd by his Autumnal Fortune: He hath something about him that will draw down a healing Miracle for his and our Deliverance; a Prince which seemeth fitting for such an offending Age, in which Mens Crimes have been so general, that the not forgiving his People hath been the destroying of them, whose Gentleness gives him a natural Dominion that hath no bounds, with such a noble mixture of Greatness and Condescention, an engaging Look, that disarmeth Men of their ill Humours, and their Resentments, something in him that wanteth a Name, and can be no more defin'd than it can be resisted; a Gift of Heaven, of its last finishing, where it will be peculiarly kind; the only Prince in the World that dares be familiar, or that hath right to triumph over those forms which were first invented to give awe to those who could not judge, and to hide Defects from those that could; a Prince that hath exhausted himself by his Liberality, and endanger'd himself by his Mercy; who out-shineth by his own Light and natural Virtues all the varnish of studied Acquisitions; his Faults are like Shades to a good Picture, or like Allay to Gold, to make it the more useful, he may have some, but for any Man to see them through so many reconciling Virtues, is a Sacrilegious piece of ill nature, of which no generous Mind can be guilty; a Prince that deserveth to be lov'd for his own sake, even without the help of a Comparison; our Love, our Duty, and our Danger, all join to cement our Obedience to him; in short, whatever he can do, it is no more possible

for us to be angry with him, than with a Rock that secures us from the raging Sea, the kind Shade that hideth us from the scorching Sun, the welcome Hand that reacheth us a Reprieve, or with the Guardian Angel, that rescueth our Souls from the devouring Jaws of wretched Eternity.

CONCLUSION.

TO Conclude, our *Trimmer* is so fully satisfy'd with the Truth of these Principles, by which he is directed, in reference to the Publick, that he will neither be pall'd and threatned, laught, nor drunk out of them; and instead of being converted by the Arguments of his Adversaries to their Opinions, he is very much confirm'd in his own by them; he professeth solemnly that were it in his Power to chuse, he would rather have his Ambition bounded by the Commands of a Great and Wise Master, than let it range with a Popular Licence, tho' crown'd with Success; yet he cannot commit such a Sin against the glorious thing call'd Liberty, nor let his Soul stoop so much below it self, as to be content without repining to have his Reason wholly subdu'd, or the Priviledge of Acting like a sensible Creature, torn from him by the imperious Dictates of unlimited Authority, in what hand soever it happens to be plac'd. what is there in this that is so Criminal, as to deserve that Penalty of that most singular Apothegme, *A Trimmer is worse than a Rebel?* What do angry Men ail to rail so against Moderation, doth it not look as if they were going to some very scurvy Extreme, that is too strong to be digested by the more considering part of Mankind? These Arbitrary Methods, besides the injustice of them, are (God be thanked) very unskilful too, for they fright the Birds by talking so loud from coming into the Nets that are laid for them; and when Men agree to rifle a House, they seldom give warning, or blow a Trumpet; but there are some small States-Men, who are so full charg'd with their own Expectations, that they cannot contain.

A kind Heaven sending such a seasonable Curse upon their undertakings, hath made their ignorance an Antidote against their Malice; some of these cannot treat peaceably, yielding will not satisfy them, they will have Men by storm; there are others, that must have Plots, to make their Service more necessary, and have an Interest to keep them alive, since they are to live upon them; these Men will perswade the King to retrench his own Greatness, so as to shrink into the head of a Party, which is the betraying

betraying him into such an Unprincely mistake, and to such a wilful diminution of himself, that they are the last Enemies he ought to allow himself to forgive; such Men if they could, would prevail with the Sun to shine only upon them and their Friends, and to leave all the rest of the World in the dark; this is a very unusual Monopoly, and may come within the Equity of the Law, which maketh it Treason to Imprison the King, when such unfitting bounds are put to his Favour, and confin'd to the narrow limits of a particular set of Men, that would incloſe him; these Honest and only Loyal Gentlemen, if they may be allow'd to bear Witness for themselves, make a King their Engine, and degrade him into a property at the very time that their Flattery would make him believe they paid down Worship to him; besides these there is a flying Squadron on both sides, that are afraid the World will agree, small dablers in Conjuring, that raise Apparitions to keep Men from being reconcil'd, like Wasps that fly up and down, buz and sting to keep Men unquiet; but these Insects are commonly short-liv'd Creatures, and no doubt in a little time Mankind will be rid of them; they were Gyants at least who fought once against Heaven, but for such Pigmies as these to contend against it, is such a provoking Folly, that the insolent Bunglers ought to be laught and hist out of the World for it; they should consider there is a Soul in that great body of the People, which may for a time be drowzy and unactive, but when the Leviathan is rouz'd, it moveth like an angry Monster, and will neither be convinc'd nor resisted; the People can never agree to shew their united Powers, till they are extreamly tempted and provoked to it, so that to apply Cupping Glasses to a great Beast dispos'd to sleep, and to force that same thing whether it will or no to be Valiant, must be learnt out of some other Book than *Machievil*, who would never have prescrib'd such a preposterous Method; it is to be remembred, that if Princes have Law and Authority on their sides, the People on theirs may have Nature which is a formidable Adversary; Duty, Justice, Religion, nay, even Humane Prudence too biddeth the People suffer any thing rather than resist; but uncorrected Nature, where e're it feeleth the smart will come to the nearest Remedy. Mens Passions in this Case are to be consider'd as much as their Duty, let it be never so strongly enforc'd, for if their Passions are provoked, they being so much a part of us as our Limbs, they lead Men into a short way of Arguing, that admitteth no distinction, and from the foundation of Self Defence, they will draw Inferences, that will have inseparable effects upon the quiet of a Government.

Our *Trimmer* therefore dreadeth a general discontent, because he thinks it differs from a Rebellion, only as a Spotted Fever does from the Plague, the same Species under a lower degree of Malignity; is worketh

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ſeveral ways, ſometimes like a ſlow Poyſon that hath its Effects a great diſtance from the time it is given, ſometimes like dry Flax prepared to catch at the firſt Fire, or like Seed in the Ground ready to ſprout upon the firſt Shower; in every ſhape 'tis fatal, and our *Trimmer* thinketh no pains or precaution can be ſo great as to prevent it.

In ſhort, he thinketh himſelf in the right, grounding his Opinion upon the Truth, which equally hateth to be under the Oppreſſions of wrangling Sophiſtry of the one hand, or the ſhort dictates of miſtaken Authority on the other.

Our *Trimmer* adoreth the Goddeſs Truth, tho' in all Ages ſhe hath been ſcurvily uſed, as well as thoſe that Worſhipped her; 'tis of late become ſuch a cozening Vertue, that Mankind ſeems to be agreed to ſhun and avoid it; yet the want of Practice which Repealeth the other Laws, hath no influence upon the Law of Truth, becauſe it hath root in Heaven, and an Intrinſick value in it ſelf, that can never be impaired; ſhe ſheweth her Greatneſs in this, that her Enemies when they are ſucceſsful are aſham'd to own it; nothing but Power full of Truth hath the Prerogative of Triumphing, not only after Victories, but in ſpite of them, and to put Conqueſt her ſelf out of Countenance; ſhe may be kept under and ſuppreſt, but her Dignity ſtill remaineth with her, even when ſhe is in Chains; Falſehood with all her Impudence, hath not enough to ſpeak ill of her before her Face, ſuch Majeſty ſhe carrieth about her, that her moſt proſperous Enemies are fain to whiſper their Treaſon; all the Power upon Earth can never extinguiſh her, ſhe hath lived in all Ages; and let the miſtaken Zeal of prevailing Authority, Chriſten any oppoſition to it, with what Name they pleaſe, ſhe makes it not only an ugly and unmannerly, but a dangerous thing to perſiſt; ſhe hath lived very retired indeed, nay ſometime ſo buried, that only ſome few of the diſcerning part of Mankind could have a Glimpſe of her; with all that ſhe hath Eternity in her, ſhe knows not how to dye, and from the darkeſt Clouds that ſhade and cover her, ſhe breaketh from time to time with Triumph for her Friends, and Terrour for her Enemies.

Our *Trimmer* therefore inſpired by this Divine Vertue, thinks fit to conclude with theſe Aſſertions, That our Climate is a *Trimmer*, between that part of the World where men are Roaſted, and the other where they are Frozen; That our Church is a *Trimmer*, between a Phrenzy of Platonick Viſions, and the Lethargick Ignorance of Popiſh Dreams; That our Laws are *Trimmers*, between the Exceſs of unbounded Power, and the Extravagance of Liberty not enough reſtrained; That true Vertue hath ever been thought a *Trimmer*, and to have its dwelling in the middle between the two Extreams;

Extreams; That even God Almighty is divided between his two great Attributes, his Mercy and his Juſtice.

In ſuch Company, our *Trimmer* is not aſham'd of his Name, and willingly leaveth to the bold Champions of either Extream, the Honour of contending with no leſs Adverſaries, than Nature, Religion, Liberty, Prudence, Humanity, and Common Senſe.

FINIS.